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FREEDOM OF EXPRESSION GUARANTEED IN CONSTITUTION

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 1, Jan-Mar 77 pp 94-98

[Article by Ylbere Malindi: "The Citizens' Right to Free Expression of Thought and Its Guarantee"]

[Text] The declaration of the right to express thoughts freely through speech, the press, assembly, organization and public demonstration, and their guarantee in the fundamental law of the state, the Constitution, show the role and position of citizens and sanction their wide participation in governing the country.

Like all other rights, they are connected with the victory of the People's Revolution and with the establishment and consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The sanctioning for the first time of the right of free expression of thought was realized in the first constitution of our state. By this important legal act, the working masses for the first time in history won by law the right to the free expression of opinion, guaranteed by every means.

In the past, in spite of the uninterrupted struggle for liberty and equality, our people have never had such a right to speak their minds freely without hindrance, and to discuss and influence the affairs of state. They did not have the right of free speech, to organize free assemblies, to create unions and organizations, to publish newspapers in which to express their views and opinions and so forth.

Out of demagogy, and in order to mask the reactionary character of the regime of those times, Zog declared certain formal "liberties" in his constitution, but offered no guarantee for putting them into practice. It is clear that under Zog's feudal-bourgeois regime, the workers could have no freedom to express their opinions and views without hindrance.

Those liberties only became a reality through struggle, revolution, the overthrow of the hated regime of the ruling classes and their power and the establishment of the power of the working class in our country.

The guarantee of political rights in the 1946 Constitution, in the first fundamental law of the new Albanian state, was a reflection of the victories in the struggle waged by our people under the party's leadership, of the blood shed by them and of the lives given by their best sons. The history of our people has wholly confirmed that liberty is not given as a gift, but is won by struggle, bloodshed and sacrifice.

The broadest enforcement of political liberties, including the right of the working masses to free expression of thought, such as liberty of speech, assembly, press and so forth, during the 33 years of the people's rule has had a considerable influence on the development of political activity and contributed to the broadest possible participation of the masses in solving all political, state, social, economic and cultural problems, as well as in all affairs of state and socialist construction.

The new constitution, proceeding from the place and position occupied by the working man in the socialist society, from the role that he plays in the social and state order and for the purpose of developing to the utmost his activity in the political, economic and social fields, again devotes great attention to the question of the forms and means of free expression of thought by the individual, and the respective guarantees.

Article 53 of the constitution states:

"Citizens enjoy freedom of speech, the press, organization, assembly, meeting and public demonstration.

The state guarantees the realization of those liberties, creates the conditions for them and makes available the necessary material means."

In our socialist country the working masses are fully guaranteed the right of free expression of thought in speech, the press, meetings and organization. Inasmuch as socialist ownership, as the basis of the socialist society, has done away with the exploitation of man by man, it is clear that real opportunities have been created for the member of the socialist society to express his thoughts freely.

The thoughts of our workers every day increasingly reflect the objective reality created in our country and the victories being won in the fight for the full construction of the socialist society. As a result of this fact, and the all-around work that has been and is being done by the party through every form and means for political and ideological education, the scientific Marxist-Leninist world outlook and the principles of proletarian morality have taken root in the workers' minds, and their spiritual world is being enriched by the ideals of socialism.

It is this fully guaranteed freedom of thought that has caused the worker in our socialist society to speak his mind everywhere about the defense

of his rule and the victories of socialism over external and internal enemies.

The new constitution continues to reflect the full opportunity for citizens to express freely by word of mouth and in writing their opinions and their views. The right of speech, as one of the fundamental rights of citizens, expresses true socialist democracy. They exercise this right both individually and in public, free and open meetings, without any obstruction.

Similarly reflected is the freedom of organization, assembly, and public demonstration, whereby the working masses, possessing every opportunity, freely express their thoughts and views in an organized manner about matters of state, political, social, economic or military nature and about domestic or international questions.

Freedom of the press in our country has undergone a great development. Such objective conditions have been created that citizens may freely express their opinions through the various organs of the press.

In the socialist society, where the means of production are the people's property, the press is likewise their property. Freedom of the press in our country is one of the most powerful means in the hands of the working class and the working masses to mobilize and activate them in the great cause of the full construction of the socialist society, and to combat the hostile ideology and propaganda of external enemies and the imperialist and revisionist states.

The press organs, as a means in the hands of the working class and the working masses, reflect debate and exchange of thoughts. They have become a fighting tribune in the great struggle being waged by our people under the party's leadership to revolutionize the country and to oppose bureaucracy, conservatism, liberalism and technocracy, as well as alien religions and patriarchal, petty-bourgeois, bourgeois and revisionist ideologies. Through the press, the working masses in our country have freely and openly expressed their thoughts and views about important and fundamental questions regarding the life--political, ideological, economic, defense, education, culture and health--of the country.

The many articles and letters written by the people to the various press organs set forth the problems that concern them, their worries, opinions and revolutionary views and thoughts, and the various organs and institutions of our state are obligated to examine and resolve them and to answer them without fail.

The party and the people's government have created all the conditions for constantly raising the degree of enforcement of democratic liberties.

In our country, where the socialist order, the dictatorship of the proletariat, has been established, and the workers themselves, headed by the

working class, are in power, with everything done in their interest, the new constitution also continues to reflect the liberty of expression of thought in all forms and by all means, and all the necessary conditions for putting them into practice are guaranteed.

Thanks to these material and social conditions that have been created, the right to the free expression of thought by the workers in our country through freedom of speech, press, assembly and public demonstration and organization is fully guaranteed. These liberties in our constitution are not rights declared merely for the sake of form, as is the case in the bourgeois and revisionist countries, since in our country the practical possibilities for their fullest and most effective enforcement also exist. In our country, the state of the dictatorship of the proletariat has provided all the necessary material means for the broadest possible exercise of those freedoms.

"Only the dictatorship of the proletariat is able to free mankind from the yoke of capital, the fraud, falsity and hypocrisy of bourgeois democracy, this democracy for the rich; only it is able to establish democracy for the poor; that is, to let the poor workers and peasants really enjoy the blessings of democracy." (Lenin, Vol 28, pp 424-425.)

A great role in the effective enforcement of freedom for the open and fearless expression of the thinking of the masses has been played by the constant injunction of the party and Comrade Enver to work tactfully with people, to create a warm social environment in which everyone may freely express his thinking, openly pose problems, deplore conditions and be heard with respect for every opinion.

In our country, no analysis, study or decision by any organ or forum whatsoever can be serious unless it is the fruit of collective work, unless the thinking of the masses is reflected.

The thinking of the masses and its full expression through freedom of speech, the press and assembly have been and are being freely developed in the struggle against bourgeois and petty-bourgeois concepts such as indifference, fear, vengeance, servility, the notion of "infallibility" of the forum and the director, of formal authority, of the technocratic concepts which place specialties and technology in the foreground and belittle the revolutionary thought and action of the working masses; the "infallibility" of those persons who, under the influence of these concepts, imperiously oppose the masses and stifle their initiative; of conceited people who take a heedless attitude toward the opinions of the masses, their remarks and criticisms, and who impose their own will and put themselves above the masses.

In our country, socialist democracy is in operation, which means full and broad liberty for the working class and the other working masses.

In our country there is no freedom of thought for enemy elements who, speculating on democracy, try to spread their anti-socialist, reactionary,

liberal and decadent bourgeois or revisionist views and ideas in order to introduce disruption and degeneration into all spheres of life, art, culture, the economy, the army and so forth. No one is allowed to intrigue in the name of "freedom" of speech, to attack and harm the state of the working class, the socialist economic and social order.

Article 55 of the constitution states:

"The creation of any organization of a fascist and anti-democratic, religious or anti-socialist character is prohibited.

Fascist, anti-democratic, religious, warmongering and anti-socialist activity and propaganda are prohibited, as are incitement to national and racial hatred."

Our country is the first country in the world without religious institutions, in which the thinking of the citizens is inspired by the scientific materialistic world outlook and Marxism-Leninism is the predominant ideology, setting the tone for life; where favorable ground has been created for the further emancipation of the consciousness and minds of citizens and for their total liberation from religious prejudices. Under the conditions created, the citizens, by their own free will, have definitively decided to abolish religious institutions, and this also receives sanction in the constitution.

Freedom of thought in the new constitution, as in the first one, proceeds from the principles of Marxism-Leninism, which views liberty in a dialectic manner as a historical necessity, the liberty of the individual, who is a member of the collective, of society, and not the liberty of an individual outside of society, as the bourgeois ideologists preach.

Our party, loyal to Marxism-Leninism, has made it clear that the socialist social order could be built only by a conscious and politically mature people who reflect in their thinking the laws of social development and use that thinking to advance the production of all political and social life.

The active participation of the working class and the working masses, their word and thought in everything, has been and is one of the party's greatest concerns. The party's revolutionary struggle has constantly been aimed in this direction, for the political and ideological elevation of the working class and the working masses and the democratization of the government, a condition for which is the participation of the working class and the other working masses. The working class and the working masses, according to Comrade Enver's teachings, speak their mind without fear concerning everything; since they are now masters of the country and of political power, their will is law for all and cannot be violated by anyone. Thus, the citizens' right to express their opinions freely on every political, economic or social problem without any distinction on the basis of position,

wealth, culture or sex has been and is one of the important aspects of our socialist democracy.

The thought and word of the working class and the working masses on everything have been and are one of the effective means of rooting out harmful bureaucratic and liberal concepts and practices and strengthening the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Everywhere, the thinking of the workers, especially through their controls exercised in various enterprises and in the central apparatuses, has had an effect in taking concrete measures to combat bureaucratism, simplifying the apparatuses, abbreviating the links and curtailing excessive staffs, as well as in more fully mobilizing workers to work on the more difficult fronts, wherever the fatherland needs them.

The exercise of the political rights and liberties of our citizens has also found clear expression in cases of elections, wherein they participate widely in meetings, make proposals regarding the naming of candidates as their representatives and exercise the right of direct control over the representative organs and the persons elected to them.

A big role has been played by the word and thought of workers in compiling the five-year plans and in drafting the state laws. Examples of this are the many thorough and useful discussions and the thoughts that they have given for the new constitution as the fundamental law of our socialist state, which, as Comrade Enver described it at the meeting of the People's Assembly, "fully retains the seal of wise and revolutionary popular thought." (RRUGA E PARTISE, No 1, 1977, p 5.)

Thus, political rights, freedom of speech, the press, assembly, organization and public demonstration, and so forth, which are sanctioned by the new constitution, will continue in the future to be powerful forms of active participation by the masses in the governing of the country. The effective enforcement of these liberties has contributed and will contribute in a high degree to raising the creative energies of our people.

In the countries in which the bourgeoisie or the revisionists rule, freedom exists only for the bourgeois class and the revisionist cliques, for the oppressors and exploiters alone. Freedom of speech, assembly and the press in the bourgeois and revisionist countries is a delusion and a piece of hypocrisy.

It is quite different in our country. Our socialist reality shows that the right of free expression of thought, as well as all the other rights, is real only where the rule of the working class is established and where a true Marxist-Leninist party, such as our Workers' Party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha, assumes the leadership.

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CSO: 2100

ACTIVITY OF SUPREME COURT REVIEWED

Tirana DREJTESIA POPULLORE in Albanian No 1, Jan-Mar 77 pp 102-107

[Article signed Gj.S.: "Giving an Accounting to the Masses, a Necessary Condition for Revolutionizing the Work of the Supreme Court"]

[Text] The Supreme Court, guided by the teachings of the party and Comrade Enver, has always considered the fight against bureaucratism and its manifestations as one of the most important expressions of the class struggle under the conditions of socialism, and has therefore continually endeavored to find and apply various forms of the mass line and to deepen that fight still more.

In seeking to find means for placing the activity of the various sectors under the control of the masses, the Supreme Court, oriented by the party base organizations, has decided that the penal college, the civil college and the Directorate for Organization and Control should make analyses of their work for a 9-month period in the presence of all the judges, legal councilors and the executory officers of the Socialist People's Republic of Albania, grouped in three areas.

Thanks to the measures of an organizational nature, the workers of the courts and the judicial aid offices are acquainted in advance with the account-rendering reports, their contents and the problems dealt with in them, so that the discussions held in the meetings have also been lively and concrete, with just criticisms and remarks aimed chiefly at further revolutionizing the work of the Supreme Court, to raise the scientific level of that work, and organize the assistance in the control of the courts better and more profitably.

At the Seventh Congress of the Workers' Party of Albania, Comrade Enver once more stressed the great importance of the constant and uninterrupted fight against manifestations of bureaucratism. Speaking of the new constitution, he said: "It emphasizes that not only the elected, but also the appointed, employees of the state are obligated to render an accounting to the masses and to submit to their direct control." (Enver Hoxha, "Report to the Seventh Congress of the Workers' Party of Albania," p 23.) The

deep meaning of this revolutionary principle of our party, which is sanctioned in the constitution, is evident both from the content of the account-rendering reports presented by each sector to the special meetings of groups and from the discussions by the members and inspectors of the Supreme Court, who analyzed their work in a spirit of thorough self-criticism, listened carefully and attentively to the critical comments made about them and drew conclusions about the usefulness of such analyses, which are none other than means whereby the cadres give an accounting to the masses. The value of these analyses was determined in three main points:

First, it was emphasized that through this form of rendering an accounting, the work of the three sectors of the Supreme Court is subjected to the judgment of those worker collectives which receive and directly enforce the orientations of those sectors, which are given through the acts, judicial decisions of the second degree and other materials.

Second, such analyses contribute to annealing the consciousness of the cadres of the Supreme Court, who clearly realize that they not only have the right to give orientations and issue orders or directions to enforce others, but also have the duty to give an accounting for their work and to hear how positive that work has been in affecting the activity of the courts and judicial offices, as well as to what extent the orientations given have responded to the demands and needs of the times for improving the work of those organs.

Third, the analyses have made it concretely possible to construct the directing work of the Supreme Court in such a way that, from among the string of problems facing the district courts and the judicial offices, those problems will be tackled and evaluated which are of the most importance and of a general character, whose solution will actively assist the work of the party and the state organs.

The workers of the district courts and the judicial aid offices, during the account-rendering meetings of the three work sectors of the Supreme Court, evaluated the reports presented and correctly reflected on and objectively evaluated the work of those sectors, pointing out both the good sides and the weaknesses noted. From their discussions it was found that the workers of the colleges and the Directorate for Organization, under the guidance of the party base organization, working to carry out the tasks set by the party and mobilized for the jubilee year of the 35th anniversary of the founding of the party, as well as for its Seventh Congress, have performed the tasks of organizing and directing the district courts and the judicial offices, fulfilling the assignments set in the Supreme Court's plans.

It was found in these meetings that during the account-rendering period the two colleges had made efforts to better construct their work in conformity with the tasks set by the Supreme Court for 1976, the most important of which are: a preventive struggle to reduce crime and civil conflicts, improvement in quality in the first and second degrees, enforcement

of the instructions of the plenum of the Supreme Court and the strengthening of the ties of the colleges with the district courts in order to raise the judicial process to a higher scientific level. Bearing the above in mind, the colleges have gone deeper into the enforcement of the party's orders, have felt fuller responsibility for all the activities of the courts in civil and penal matters and have maintained responsibility for the quality of work as a whole, and for the correct enforcement of the law in particular, in judging penal and civil cases on a republic-wide scale.

Besides the work of giving judgments, the colleges have increased and better organized control and assistance with regard to the base courts, and have also increased their study and generalizing work in quantity and quality. For example, through control of the work of the courts and their activities, study of the problems and manifestations of the rise of crime and civil conflicts, as well as the study of various problems of a legal character, the two colleges have prepared for the plenum of the Supreme Court a considerable number of materials, such as the generalization "On Material Responsibility" and the respective instructions, the generalization "On Lawsuits with the Object of Divorce," the instructions "On the Enforcement of Article 44 of the Penal Code," the analysis on repeaters in crime, the analysis "On the Enforcement of the Mass Line by the Military Colleges," and so forth.

It was found that the Directorate for Organization and Control has likewise done a good job of carrying out a number of important tasks during the account-rendering period. Thus, according to the plan drafted for the analysis and execution of the orders of Comrade Enver on the preventive combating of crime and civil conflicts, it organized annual analyses on this subject in all the district courts and judicial offices. Orientations were also given, and seminars on this problem were organized with assistant judges and other cadres on the basis of areas in the districts. From the extensive work carried on in this respect, the plenum of the Supreme Court was presented with generalizing material on the forms of work for the preventive struggle, which, in order to exchange experience, was distributed throughout all the districts. Other generalizing material was prepared by the executory sector; it was analyzed in the Supreme Court and sent to the localities.

The Directorate for Organization during this period organized more controls through teams, attaching due importance and giving due place to operative work. Twenty district courts have been controlled in this manner. The inspectors have also gone to the localities to exercise control with regard to a group of specific problems such as suspended cases, age corrections, execution of decisions and the forms of preventive work used by the courts and judicial offices, or have made operative inspections to look after the performance of tasks left by the general inspections.

Beside the operative controls, the Directorate for Organization has also better organized the dissemination of positive experiences. In this respect, use has been made of communications, generalizing materials or special information. For example, fairly positive results have been obtained in

disseminating to all the courts in the republic the good experience of the Gramsh district court in the rendering of an accounting to the masses and in organizing in Fier a seminar with all the presidents of the courts to attest to the good experience of the Fier district court with regard to the preventive fight against crime. In making a comparison with the experience of the courts in control teams, a good job has been done in activating the judges of the various districts as well, while in calling upon the courts for reports, consideration has been given to comparing courts with similar working conditions but with different indices, which forms of work give rather good results in disseminating advanced experience, which has had a rather good effect in eliminating shortcomings and improving the method and style of the work of the district courts. The study of the materials sent by the district courts and the deduction from them of political-social and economic-organizational problems by the workers of the Directorate for Organization for the central organs and institutions, have been evaluated as a positive practical example contributing to improving the work of the courts on this problem.

But both the analyses of the 9 months of work dealing with the reports rendered by the three sectors of the Supreme Court and the discussions by the comrades in the courts and the judicial aid offices have evidenced, apart from the positive evaluation of the work done, a series of shortcomings, concerning which conclusions and tasks have been deduced for the further improvement of the method of directing the courts, relating to the lowering of the quality of judgments, the strengthening of the preventive fight and so forth. The shortcomings noted may be grouped as follows:

1. Guidance of the district courts in the penal and civil fields is a very important task for the penal and civil colleges, about which a good many criticisms and comments have been made. It was pointed out that, because of the changes that have been made in procedure, the jurisdiction of the judgments of the Supreme Court in the second degree has been confined to a specific number of cases, so that the volume of its work in this respect has been reduced, and therefore it has been demanded that it should give more help to the district courts by qualified work, issue instructions and do study and generalizing work, not only on the basis of its own practice, but also on the basis of the activity and practice of the district courts. The colleges were criticized for misapplying the forms of consultation with the district courts, since comparisons and group consultations on the cases tried had not always been made during the 9-month period, and it was demanded that more concrete aid on the spot be given to the judicial councils of the district courts, especially in those councils in which new judges take part.

With regard to the Supreme Court's task of unifying judicial practice, it was pointed out that the colleges, in their work, have had cases where opposite stands were taken in resolving cases of the same nature. Although these cases have been rare, it was stated that they show, nevertheless, that the colleges should devote greater care to performing their task of

unifying judicial practice, since the second-degree decisions have a direct effect on the activity of the courts, and orient them in the penal and civil fields. To strengthen the work of the judicial councils, it was demanded that the directing role of the plenum of the Supreme Court be enhanced, as well as the quality of the work of the colleges, which should do a better job of keeping a watch on the attitudes of the judicial councils in enforcing the law and should ask from time to time that the necessary instructions be given by the plenum of the Supreme Court.

During the discussions, attention was drawn to the fact that the members of the Supreme Court should do a better job of evaluating second-degree judgments as an important form of directing work and, concretely, more care should be shown by the colleges when they affect the decisions of the courts, especially when they are made for evaluation of evidence, since in these cases, it was stated, the instructions of the Supreme Court, which, in affecting decisions, require that the colleges consult beforehand with the court that has handed down the respective decision, have not always been executed. After several concrete cases in which hasty decisions had been handed down were mentioned, the order was given that the colleges should take them under analysis, deduce the reasons for the shortcomings and demand an accounting from the respective councils. It was likewise demanded that the plenum of the Supreme Court should take under analysis the decisions affected for evaluation of evidence and should draw the proper conclusions.

There were also comments about the quality of the justification of decisions, since there are also cases where terse decisions are justified by general and stereotyped phrases that do not correspond to all the reasons for the indictments, and the fact that the instructions of the plenum of the Supreme Court that second-degree decisions shall be a means of political, ideological and juridical orientation for judicial practice and, as such, shall generalize and treat theoretical problems, are not always carried out.

Regarding the decisions affected by the plenum of the Supreme Court, it was stated that the colleges should have dwelt longer on them, and more accounting should be demanded of the reporters, who have permitted poor quality.

In this period, the judgments by the Supreme Court on the spot, directly in the district courts, were considered too few, and it was stated that not enough care had been shown in grouping certain cases so as to judge them in a court where, after judgment, a discussion might be held with the judges about the shortcomings noted or about the positive work. Similarly, it was remarked about the colleges that comparisons should also be made concerning the decisions affected with the work centers and mass organizations where the cases had been heard with the participation of the masses.

There was also criticism with regard to speed, especially in instances where cases are left for verification, remaining a long time in abeyance and keeping the litigants in suspense, so that they sometimes have to go to the

district courts to get an answer. Therefore, in verifying cases, it was said, the reporters ought to be more operative and the colleges should control the cases left for verification, so that the reporters may better organize their work of verifying them in due time.

2. The Directorate for Organization and Control was criticized with regard to improvement of style and method of work, more assistance in the directing and organizing work of the courts and in spreading advanced experience, since it has made little use of forms of work to profit from the experience of the best. It was likewise demanded that the workers of that directorate organize more controls and general inspections, and that these be combined with the worker control groups; it was emphasized that the execution of the tasks set by the Supreme Court in the field of organization should be energetically required. Regarding violations permitted by the courts, it was stated that the inspectors should tarry longer and be more demanding so as not to permit any liberal stand toward the performance of tasks, and they should give concrete guidance to the courts by broadening their horizons for problems of organization and direction.

3. At the meetings on the rendering of an accounting, a good deal of criticism was aimed at inadequate work with regard to the deduction of political-social problems from the cases judged in the second degree. Criticism was likewise leveled at the generalizing and scientific work, at the few articles written by the comrades of the Supreme Court in the review DREJTËSIA POPULLORE [People's Justice]. In this regard, it was asked, in a critical tone: "What are the comrades of the Supreme Court doing about judicial qualification and about the study of achievements in the matter of justice?" Attention was drawn to revision of the instructions of the Supreme Court, to issuance of the Supreme Court bulletin and so forth.

These just criticisms drew the attention of the members of the Supreme Court and the inspectors, who concluded that they have not done their duty fully in the matter of study work; namely, to write, according to plan, at least one article or write on one theme a year. Just as the heads of the Supreme Court demand an accounting for the performance of the tasks of organization and judgment, it was said, they should equally control and demand an accounting for study and scientific work by every member of the Supreme Court and its inspector.

4. Comments and criticisms were also made about the Directorate for Organization and about the colleges with regard to the inadequacy of the assistance given to the judicial aid offices, especially regarding the shortcomings noted by the colleges in the work of these offices in preparing indictments or complaints, which have not always properly reprimanded the legal councilors who have prepared them, or have not grouped such shortcomings so as to submit them for discussion to the collectives of the judicial aid offices. In some cases, it was said, no reply is given in the decisions of the colleges to all the points raised in the complaints,

and consequently the work of the legal councilors is not appraised and evaluated; it was therefore moved that, when a decision is affected, it would be useful to consult with the worker in the judicial office who had made the charge, in addition to consulting with the respective judge.

In the analyses conducted in Tirana and Shkoder, where the civil college and the Directorate for Organization and Control, respectively, gave an accounting, not only the members and inspectors of the Supreme Court, but also the president of the Supreme Court, Comrade Aranit Cela, took part, while the deputy secretary of the Supreme Court, Comrade Eleni Selenica, took part in the analysis conducted in Berat, where the penal college gave an accounting. Finally, in view of the conclusions given, it was said, the analyses of the work of the three sectors of the Supreme Court conducted in the presence of the base workers are sufficiently positive and represent fruitful experience in the fight against manifestations of bureaucratism and its consequences. The Supreme Court, during a period of many years, has carried out the orientations and continual directives of the party and the teachings of Comrade Enver, and has accumulated good experience with regard to revolutionizing our organs so as to place the party's policy in the foreground, enforce the mass line, strengthen the ties of the courts to the people and consistently apply the Marxist-Leninist principle of the class struggle. In the future, this experience must be carried forward by mobilizing all forces to enforce the party's orders, which were stressed once more in its Seventh Congress.

The workers of the Supreme Court, like all the workers of the district courts, must continue the job of further revolutionizing their work by raising to a higher degree their ideopolitical level and their professional qualifications, further strengthen their ties with the people, propagandize the party's political line and the laws of the state and do an extensive job of prevention in reducing crime and civil conflicts as much as possible. Hence, all the work of organization, direction and judgment should be aimed at analyzing and enforcing these party orientations.

10002

CSO: 2100

BULGARIA

ZHIVKOV 3 DEC 76 SPEECH TO INTERNATIONAL PEASANTS CONFERENCE IN SOFIA

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 2 Aug 77 p 1, 2 and 3 AU

[Speech by Todor Zhivkov, first secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, delivered 3 December 1976 at the International Conference of Peasants and Affiliated Democratic Parties and Organizations in Sofia--"stenographic transcription" reprinted from the book being published by the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union Publishing House entitled "For Peace, Security and Cooperation" covering materials of the above-mentioned conference in Sofia:2-3 December 1976]

[Text] Esteemed guests and friends, esteemed comrades, according to the preliminary program prepared by the comrades of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union [BNAU], I was supposed, in my capacity as chairman of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, to convey to you greetings yesterday as is usual in international practice. However, it was necessary for me to depart for the Soviet Union and fulfill the pleasant errand of presenting the awards with which our country has honored Comrade Leonid Il'ich Brezhnev on the occasion of his 70th birthday. (sustained applause) This is why I take the floor today.

I had prepared a written greetings address--a brief and well-composed one. However, it is useless today because your conference is already in the second day of its session. This is why I kindly ask you to excuse me for taking the opportunity to speak to your notable international forum on certain issues without a written text, the more so since I shall dwell upon some cardinal issues of our times on the present stage of the development of mankind.

Prior to this, esteemed friends, on behalf of our party and state leadership and the Bulgarian people, please allow me to greet you as our dear guests, guests of the Bulgarian People's Republic. (sustained applause) I think that our comrades of the BNAU will not be offended by my saying that you are guests of the Bulgarian People's Republic. (laughter, applause) I express cordial wishes to you for a pleasant and useful visit in our country and for the complete success of your conference. (prolonged applause)

The Problem of Peace is a Problem of All Mankind

Esteemed friends and comrades, the most important international issue, the issue of all issues--securing a lasting peace in the world--is being discussed here. There is truly no greater and more vitally important problem than the struggle for lasting peace, security and understanding among the countries and peoples which affects every man on our planet.

Wars have always been disastrous and unfortunate for the vast strata of the people's masses. There has been no war without victims. The greatest ordeal for mankind--World War II--caused tremendous human and material losses, destroyed unique cultural and historic valuables and inflicted vast spiritual damage. The facts and figures are well known, and I will not repeat them. I just wish to recall that more than 50 million people died in the fire of this war.

History has taught us that there were predatory and aggressive wars that aimed at enslaving the people. However, there are also justifiable wars--against aggression and for liberation of the people. While declaring ourselves resolutely against the imperialist and aggressive wars we, the communists, consider it our international duty to support the sacred struggle of the oppressed peoples for national liberation, their just struggle against aggression and imperialism. The real cause of war and of the use of armed force in international relations arise from the nature of imperialism, monopolistic capital and its strivings for domination.

We live in the century of the scientific-technical revolution, of the development of the world itself and of the development of science and technology. Thus qualitative changes have occurred that throw new light on the problems of war and peace. Three-four decades ago nuclear and thermonuclear weapons appeared, as a result of the development of nuclear physics, and have basically changed the conception of the way of waging war. Perhaps there are certain people who do not acknowledge Lenin. However, he is and will be the greatest genius of mankind. Namely, Lenin himself predicted that if a weapon was created that could annihilate entire armies, war would then become absurd. Today there is such a weapon--the thermonuclear one. In addition to this, this fatal weapon is being further perfected so that it can be developed into new systems. The thermonuclear weapon is not only able to annihilate individual armies but it can also annihilate entire countries and regions, and cause disastrous consequences to the whole world, many times exceeding the tragedy of all the wars in history taken together. The consequences of a thermonuclear conflict will be disastrous not only for the warring parties but also for those who try to remain outside the conflict. Not only the present generation will be affected but the future generations will also have a heavy heritage. The present weapons are so terrible that human intelligence cannot grasp what the consequences will be.

The thermonuclear weapons, however, are weapons of "yesterday's" military technology. We have heard some reports--I do not know of any details, but reports have disseminated in Bulgaria and perhaps you have also heard the same reports--that qualitatively new and much more annihilating and treacherous weapons than the thermonuclear ones are being created.

The present scientific-technical revolution has achieved such a stage of development that enables it to further penetrate into the secrets of matter. Further and fundamentally new qualities of matter are being uncovered that can be and must be put at the service of man--for his prosperity and happiness. Certain circles in the West, however, are directing these scientific-technical discoveries toward the annihilation of man and are using them to create new weapons much more terrible than the present thermonuclear ones. It is difficult for me to say exactly what they are: However, we can guess and can imagine what kind of weapons they can be.

Let us take for example the laser beam. There is intensive work going on to turn it into a weapon for mass annihilation and destruction. Let us also take the efforts to modify the environment, climate, and the ionosphere for military and other purposes hostile for the people. Possibilities are also being searched for to affect the waters of the oceans and the seas, to artificially incite the destructive power of the sea waves which could hit countries along the coasts with tremendous strength. Can you imagine what this could mean? What damage could be caused by artificially generated heavy rains--terrible floods at individual sites, destruction of bridges, roads, dikes, houses, landslides and so forth: The world press at one time reported that the U.S. interventionists had partially used such methods to modify the environment and the climate during the war in Indochina. We can imagine the horror of eventually artificially generating earth tremors and volcanic activity: It is considered theoretically possible to disturb the ozone layer encircling the earth, to open so-called "windows" through which dangerous ultraviolet rays of the sun could penetrate and affect in these regions not only the people but also all forms of life, annihilating them with these rays. New chemical means can also be terrible weapons in a future world war. As you see, there is intensive work going on to create such fundamentally new types of weapons for mass annihilation which have hardly been even mentioned in the science fiction novels. It is unfortunate, however, that during the present intensified development of the scientific-technical revolution such kind of imagination can become reality.

In addition the means for delivering weapons of mass annihilation are becoming more powerful and precise: They can hit the planned target with great precision. These weapons are becoming singularly horrible, dear guests. Why? Because 5 years ago they could still be detected and destroyed before they could reach their targets. The present delivery means are capable of delivering a weapon of mass annihilation to a chosen target with great, I would say mathematical, precision. In addition, they are also almost

invulnerable; they are very difficult to detect and to render harmless during flight. Thus, there is no way or means at present to avert a catastrophe should they be launched into operation.

The qualitative changes in the development of weapons--more particularly in creating new weapons for the mass annihilation of mankind--are posing new problems for peace in an entirely new way.

Some people are trying to present the problems of peace and understanding among the peoples as an ideological problem. Nothing of the kind, dear friends and comrades. It is not an ideological problem. The problem of a lasting world peace is a problem of all mankind which affects all people on our planet. (prolonged applause)

With the current and future development of science, technology, and military technology a future war in which all existing and other means of mass annihilation will be used becomes absurd. It is an unacceptable alternative to human reason. (applause)

In the past, mankind had no power and possibilities to avert wars. They were law-governed, objective phenomena in the life of human society--in a world dominated by powers that were interested in wars and that through wars pursued their gross class interests and goals to enslave and exploit other countries and peoples as well as achieve maximum profits. The situation in the world, however, has now changed. The forces in favor of peace, understanding and progress have incredibly increased. This makes the task of averting a new world war a realistic one.

We are constantly talking about this issue. It is not out of place to call certain things to mind. It is also not out of place to constantly say that the huge forces and favorable factors for averting a new world war must be used at all cost. I am very pleased to note that, to the joy of the peoples, for more than 30 years now no world war has been waged on our planet. This is an enormous achievement. There is hardly to be found such a long period of peace in the history of Europe. As I said before, there are possibilities that war can be ruled out of the life of our planet not only for decades but in general.

We must emphasize that these 30 years, particularly the last decade, were imbued with particular work and struggle for the cause of peace, understanding and cooperation among the peoples. We have no knowledge of any other such short period of time in history during which such intensive and great work has been carried out and during which so many active, purposeful and effective actions in the struggle for averting war, as well as for peace and understanding and cooperation among the peoples, have been undertaken. (applause)

The CSCE was a great achievement of peaceloving mankind. We, the representatives of the European socialist countries, went to Helsinki and took our places at the long table together with the leaders of the other European countries and the United States and Canada in order to sign the final

document of the conference. The CSCE was a turning point in the development of mankind along the path toward peace, understanding and cooperating among the peoples and countries and also toward detente in the international situation. It marked the beginning of a new stage in the process of reducing tension and it was a further step toward implementing the principles of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. By demonstrating again the sterility and harmfulness of the policy of "cold war," the conference opened new possibilities for resolving the topical problem on the European continent--the building of a lasting structure for peace, of an all-European security and cooperation system. Although this task is far-reaching in character, its foundations are being laid today. The past period following the Helsinki Conference confirmed the correctness of the achieved stipulations and of the need to fill them with concrete material content. This is why we highly appraise this international forum which was held during a period when the struggle for peace and security, understanding and cooperation among the peoples became a truly paramount, vital and primary strategic task. (applause)

We also cannot fail to note with satisfaction the end of the war in Indochina, Vietnam and Cambodia. In this long-too-long war, these peoples suffered everything possible and heroically struggled against foreign domination and imperialist intervention. With the assistance of progressive mankind and primarily of the socialist countries they scored a victory and achieved their freedom and independence. (prolonged applause)

For the first time in many years the weapons in Asia are quiet today. Comrades, friends, gentlemen, this is a great achievement: Some of the countries are able to build socialism there. This is a domestic affair of the respective Asian country. Some country can also carry out a "cultural revolution." This also is its internal affair. There would also be various approaches toward administering the individual countries; however, there is no war in Asia, and this is a great victory for progressive mankind. (prolonged applause) This fact cannot but affect, and it has already affected, the development of the world along the path toward peace and understanding among the peoples. (applause) Yes, no more wars should be waged in Asia! The salvation of the peoples of this continent, which has endured so many hardships, depends to a great extent on the building up of a collective security system in Asia which, like the security and cooperation system in Europe, will set up lasting and just norms of peaceful coexistence from Asia Minor to Australia. It is an absolutely law-governed fact that the Soviet Union, the great European and Asian country, was a pioneer of this noble idea. (applause)

Let us take a look at Africa. The last colonial empire--the Portuguese--collapsed. Angola, Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands have liberated themselves. The colonial system, a system condemned and disdained by history, a system which had for centuries enslaved and exploited the peoples, utterly collapsed. This was a great victory for the

African peoples, a great victory of progressive mankind in the struggle for peace and understanding among the peoples. (applause) The problems of the racist regimes of Rhodesia and South Africa as well as the problem of Namibia's independence still remain unresolved. It is beyond any doubt that they will also be resolved. They cannot but be resolved in the interest of the peoples and of the fact that justice will also be victorious there in spite of the counteractions of certain imperialist forces. (applause)

The military-fascist regimes in Greece and Portugal also collapsed. I believe that the present developments in Spain will bring about the establishment of a democratic regime and that the Spanish people who have undergone so many difficulties will at last be able to live under conditions of democracy and contribute to world progressive development, to the strengthening of world peace and security and, more particularly, to European peace, security and cooperation. (applause)

I briefly note only the main results of the struggle for peace and for eliminating the dangerous hotbeds of wars that have emerged here and there as well as the victories of this struggle. These are enormous achievements and we highly appreciate them.

The Main Task Now--To Turn the Process of Detente Into an Irreversible Process, To Discontinue the Arms Race

Esteemed guests, friends and comrades, all of us gathered round this table are public and political figures and are aware that we should not live with illusions of some uneventful international development and with illusions that everything in the world will march smoothly. Nothing of the kind. While emphasizing the great successes achieved by the peoples, we must emphasize at the same time that the forces opposing peace and understanding are also trying to launch a counteroffensive. It is unfortunate that they have achieved temporary successes in many respects.

As far as the political aspect of the problem of peace and understanding among the peoples and peaceful coexistence is concerned, we are aware that not everything will march smoothly here. And this is understandable today when the socialist and the capitalist system are a reality and when there are peoples who have liberated themselves from colonialism and who are defending their independence against the designs of imperialism and when there is a national liberation movement, a struggle of the workers class and so forth. Detente, is however, a fact and it is marching forward and developing in spite of all difficulties and irrespective of the contradictions existing in the world which we take, and cannot but take, into account.

The primary task now is to make the process of detente irreversible. This has not yet been achieved, and what is more in parallel to detente, I would say that the arms race is developing in an even more intensified manner.

It is exactly this that is the most dangerous thing for the world--the main threat to world peace. This is why the elimination of the arms race is the most immediate, fundamental and most urgent task.

The monstrous character of the arms-race policy has been demonstrated in many ways. On the one hand it engages enormous material and human resources for military purposes instead of putting them at the service of the socio-economic progress of the peoples. The consequences of this policy fall as a heavy burden on the shoulders of the working people's masses. On the other hand, and this is particularly important, the arms race threatens to compromise the results and the level of international detente in the political sphere, and it also conceals serious dangers for peace and security in the world.

The dialectics in the process of the arms race is such that it more and more contradicts mankind's vital interests. According to data supplied by the United Nations, approximately \$300 million are now being spent annually for armaments. For the present period (1960-1980) these expenditures are expected to reach the astronomic figure of \$4.5 billion if the present trend is not stopped. The military expenditures of the NATO member countries, where the annual amount of such expenditures has increased seven times compared with 1949, are being increased particularly rapidly. The trend to a rapid increase in military expenditures of the developing countries which have emerged since the beginning of the sixties is also dangerous.

It is beyond doubt that a halt to the arms race, in the name of which a powerful offensive by the peace-loving forces is now being developed in the world, will create the necessary conditions for a more rapid development of all countries, for an upsurge in the prosperity of all peoples, for a comprehensive utilization of scientific-technical progress in the interests of the peaceful development of mankind. It will open further possibilities for resolving a number of mankind's particularly complicated problems, such as the power supply, ecology, and mastering the problems of outer space and the oceans as well as the problem of raw materials and so forth. The Soviet Union has already forwarded concrete proposals on convening all-European congresses on issues of cooperation in the sphere of power supply, transportation and environmental protection.

You know that a number of major proposals aimed at halting the arms race and at the production of scientific researches for elaborating new annihilating weapons were submitted to the 30th UNGA, mostly on the initiative of the USSR, other socialist countries and UN member-countries. I would like to emphasize the enormous importance of the Soviet proposal on signing a world treaty on the non-use of force. This proposal was widely welcomed by the people throughout the world who saw in it a herald of a world system for collective security. These proposals are many. Their main content and the meaning characterizing them, however, are the efforts the Soviet Union is making to prevent the arms race so that the scientific-technical revolution and the enormous efforts and resources spent on scientific research will not be used for the production of new weapons.

The Soviet proposals on halting the arms race arise from humane considerations and from considerations of defending world peace and saving mankind from a third world war, which would be an obvious catastrophe. The Soviet proposals take into account the circumstance that a number of circles in the Western countries are not ready to begin total disarmament. This is why the proposals provide for a number of partial measures for achieving further greater results in disarmament step by step. It is true that major results have been achieved at the talks between the United States and the Soviet Union on limiting strategic weapons, known as the SALT talks. We must say with regret, however, that there is still no particular progress in the sphere of halting the arms race and in signing a new and more all-embracing agreement.

There are certain results also in connection with the foundation of mutual trust among states. Observers from other countries are being invited to large military maneuvers.

All this, however, is by no means sufficient for stopping the process of the arms race, for impeding the production and introduction of new mass-destruction weapons.

What should be done? Obviously, in order to resolve this problem of crucial importance, the efforts of the socialist countries alone and of the governments of those Western states and developing countries which are aware of the real danger of the arms race are not sufficient. It is necessary to mobilize world public opinion; it is necessary to mobilize all forces in the world which are in favor of peace. I would like once more to reiterate that the question of peace and security, the question of disarmament, is neither an ideological nor only a political question: it is a universally human question, a question concerning all people living on our planet.

In connection with the problems of peace and security in our time, much is being said about the so-called blocs. Yes, such military-political blocs do exist. There is NATO and there is the Warsaw Pact organization. However, we cannot agree with the various speculations of imperialist propaganda institutions, speculations which are also frequently made by certain state and political leaders--not to speak of those circles which are not interested in detente and which would like to bring back the time of "cold war." They are deliberately trying to equate the two organizations.

There is a difference of principle between the two organizations--NATO and the Warsaw Pact.

Let us consider the problem from the historical point of view. NATO was the first to be created as a military-political alliance with an absolutely obvious and overt posture in opposition to the Soviet Union and the young socialist countries. This is a historical truth. No one can deny it. What should we have done? Should we have remained inactive? Should we have left our countries' independence without defense, should we have left our peoples'

lives and peace in Europe unprotected, and should we have relied upon the mercy of the reactionaries and warmongers? We could not have and should not have committed such a crime against our countries and peoples, against the future of all mankind. Thus, we created, we were forced to create, a defensive military-political organization, the Warsaw Pact.

It is also a historical truth that since the creation of the organization of Warsaw Pact member-countries, since the very first days of its existence and up to the last conference of the Political Consultative Committee, recently held in Bucharest, we have always raised and are still raising the question of the simultaneous disbanding of the two military-political organizations. We have always declared, and still declare, that if NATO decides to dissolve, on the same day and at the same hour we will dissolve our military-political alliance, because it will no longer have a reason for existence. (applause)

I would like to announce to you that now, too, at the Bucharest conference, we dealt with questions concerning the consolidation of the Warsaw Pact from the military point of view. We discussed the questions of how to achieve progress in the struggle for peace and how to resolve the main problem of the present moment--namely, the problem of stopping the arms race and the problem of a gradual transition to disarmament, above all, the problem of the transition to an elimination of means of mass destruction. This is why we adopted a document aimed precisely at the implementation of all agreements signed in Helsinki in connection with security and cooperation, aimed at the consolidation of universal peace and international security, and aimed at stopping the arms race. Once more we, the Warsaw Pact member-countries, attached tremendous importance not to the military but to the political aspect of the solution of the problems of peace and disarmament among the peoples and states.

A new contribution to the intensification of detente in the political as well as in the military sector was represented by the initiative of the Bucharest conference of the Political Consultative Committee to sign an agreement with all signatory states of the Helsinki Final Document on assuming the commitment of not being the first to use nuclear weapons against each other. This would increase the mutual trust among the Warsaw Pact and NATO member-countries and would contribute to general improvement of the international atmosphere in Europe. Another concrete proposal submitted by the fraternal countries also serves the same purpose. It is the proposal to freeze the number of members of both military-political organizations. This would consolidate the existing strategic balance and would contribute to the creation of prerequisites facilitating the future disbanding of the blocs.

NATO, however, is not manifesting any interest whatsoever in these constructive proposals--no interest in a solution of the question of military-political blocs aimed at the simultaneous disbanding of these blocs. On the contrary, NATO is stepping up rearmament and preparation for military actions; it is intensifying propaganda against the socialist countries, and in particular against the Soviet Union.

What is the consequence of these two opposed lines of conduct? It ensues that one bloc--the NATO bloc--is an aggressive bloc, whereas the other--the Warsaw Pact--is a defensive bloc.

This is the great truth, esteemed guests, friends and comrades. This is the absolute truth.

Who Is Threatening Peace?

Esteemed friends, certain circles in the West, circles which are linked to the military-industrial complex and to reactionary groups, are talking about a Soviet threat. I beg you, let us consider things conscientiously and with a realistic approach. What kind of Soviet threat are they talking about? The Soviet Union is proposing disarmament--hence, whom could it threaten and with what means, since the Soviet Union is going to disarm. I have no intention, here, of making propaganda in favor of the Soviet Union. I am only quoting facts, I am talking about real facts and truth. Who is there who does not know that the Soviet Union is heading the struggle for peace, that the Soviet Union is the state which submits such proposals, the state which has accomplished the greatest achievements for the well-being and happiness of mankind. (applause) At the 24th CPSU Congress the Soviet Union's well-known peace program was announced, and this program was further developed at the 25th Congress. The Bulgarian People's Republic supports this program and, within its possibilities, Bulgaria is also contributing to implementation of this program in practice. Our people's and our country's national and international interests demand this. Yes, it is the simple truth, that the Soviet Union is the one that constantly submits proposals, a whole series of proposals, which are perfectly sensible and realistic, proposals concerning the stopping of the arms race and the guarantee of a lasting peace in the world.

The world is very well-acquainted with the peace-loving character of the Soviet Union's foreign policy. If anyone should have any doubts, however, and would like to reevaluate this policy, let him have a look at the magnificent Soviet five-year plan and let him answer himself his own question--how could a country and a people who are involved in construction on such a scope threaten world peace in any way? Let anyone who has such doubts carefully analyze the program of the 25th CPSU Congress on the further struggle for peace and international cooperation, for the peoples' freedom and independence, in order to convince himself once more that there is no stand expressed, no word, no thought contained in this program that is not in accordance with the interests and aspirations of the Soviet people, and not only of the Soviet people but in accordance with the interests and aspiration of all peoples, in the interest of peace, security and co-operation throughout the world. (applause)

There is another question connected with peace, a question which gives much opportunity for speculations. Certain Western circles are raising the following question: "Yes, there should be peace and peaceful coexistence

between the two systems --the socialist and the capitalist. However, the status quo must be preserved."

What do these circles mean by status quo?

They would like, for example, to stop the social processes now taking place in the Western countries. You must agree, however, that by struggling for peace and understanding among peoples, we cannot prevent crises in capitalist society and their social consequences. This is impossible. Tell us, what should we do in order to prevent crisis, inflation and unemployment in the capitalist countries? They arise from the very system, from the social order existing in those countries. There are no crises, there is no inflation in the socialist countries. This is one aspect of the question.

On the other hand, under the term "preservation of the status quo" the Western circles understand the preservation of dictatorial and reactionary regimes. Whether such regimes should exist or not--this is the concern of the peoples in those respective countries. If they like dictatorial regimes, let them preserve such regimes. If the peoples have already had enough of such dictatorial regimes, then they will rise to a struggle against them. This is quite natural. Wherever peoples are oppressed they will struggle, they will fight for their sacred rights and freedoms.

Thus, along with the struggle for peace, the countries of the socialist community and the peace-loving forces cannot assume the commitment of preserving dictatorial regimes and of perpetuating the bourgeois system, a commitment which our partners of the Western states would like to impose on us. How can we agree with the imperialist countries that today the people of South Africa should not struggle against the racist regimes? This is impossible; even if we would like to assume such a task, it would be impossible. This would mean that we should be in the situation of the so-called "Holy Alliance" which was created in post-Napoleonic Europe of the 19th century, aimed at "defending order" against the "chaos" in international relations and aimed at stopping the development of revolutionary processes. If certain contemporary reactionaries are living with the illusion that such things are possible, there are no such "innocents" among us. There is even more to this: we frankly declare that our sympathies are on the side of the oppressed, and of those deprived of their rights, and not on the side of oppressors and exploiters. It is truly ridiculous in our time of all times to try to assume the role of a Metternich, who was called the "architect" of the "Holy Alliance." Was it possible, in post-Napoleonic Europe, to stop the objective, historical processes? It was impossible. It is even less possible, now, in the last quarter of the 20th century, to stop progressive social processes. The peoples and the working class, the working peasants, will inevitably persist in their struggle for social rights and for a better life. We do not export revolutions to other countries, but we are resolutely against the export of counter-revolution. Let the historical development follow its natural and

objective process, let the social problems of individual peoples and countries be resolved according to these peoples' and countries' wishes, without any interference from outside.

The world social process and the world-historical progress cannot be stopped, neither can the world social process and historical progress in individual countries. This is not the task of the struggle for peace. The task of the struggle for peace is to prevent a devastating thermonuclear war, to establish a lasting peace in Europe and throughout the world. I say Europe, not because we are living and working in Europe, but because on this continent the greatest quantities of weapons are stored and, if a third world war should break out, it is very likely to break out on the European Continent, or at least it is very likely that the decisive battles will take place here. A lasting peace in Europe inevitably would exercise its impact upon the establishment of peace in other areas of the world too.

This, however, by no means signifies that we are underestimating the tremendous importance of the struggle for peace on other continents and in other areas of the world. Peace is indivisible. It cannot be divided into European, Asian, African and so forth. As a result of this, it is a question of mobilizing joint efforts for a peaceful future of the world. The crucial, the principal question, the most important question in our contemporary historical development is the question of insuring universal peace. This question affects the vital interests and the life of the peoples. This creates prerequisites for mobilizing all peace-loving forces in order to solve this question. The fate of peace depends not only on the activities of the governments. The broad peoples' masses, including the agricultural toilers in all countries, have great opportunities for exercising an influence on the governments in favor of the policy of peace, understanding and cooperation. It is the duty of each social organization and political party representing the interests of the broad people's masses and it is the duty of any individual of common sense to contribute with every effort to the achievement of these noble goals.

Who Bears the Responsibility for the Backwardness of the Developing Countries?

Esteemed guests, esteemed comrades, I take the liberty of proceeding to another question--that of the backwardness of the countries which until recently were under colonial oppression, that of insuring a dignified, human life for hundreds of millions of people.

The colonial system of imperialism has dissolved. Independent, new states have been created in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Many countries have freed themselves of colonial slavery; it is not necessary to enumerate how many, but they represent entire continents, which for centuries had been living under colonial oppression. They call them the developing countries, the countries of the "third world," and so on. Many of them are participating in the movement of nonaligned countries. The newly liberated peoples

today wish to live in peace, to create human living conditions, to eliminate backwardness, starvation, illiteracy, epidemics, diseases and other such evils.

Can the question of backwardness be neglected, or separated from the common struggle for peace and for understanding among the peoples? It cannot. This question affects a tremendously large number of people's masses, and, this is of particular importance. These are mainly peasants' masses, since productive forces in the young states are extremely underdeveloped.

The life, problems and suffering of these countries and peoples are particularly close to us in Bulgaria. Why is this so? Because, Bulgaria has trodden this path. Thirty years ago the Bulgarian people also lived in misery, in great poverty, as a matter of fact. Our land was torn apart, the technical equipment was rudimentary, labor productivity was extremely low. Industry was only very insufficiently developed. We were the most backward of the nations; only Albania was behind us. This was of course not owing to the fault of the Albanian people. As you can convince yourselves today, Bulgaria is a developed industrial-agrarian country with stable rates of development of the productive forces. As for our people's living standard, it is on its way to catching up with the most highly developed socialist and capitalist countries in the near future.

This, however, is the present. The past of the Bulgarian working people was by no means happy. Bulgaria was backward. It was an extremely backward agrarian country. The yields from grain crops were 70-80 kilograms, and in exceptional instances reached 120 kilograms per decare, or, according to the measurements used in your countries--7-8 centners per hectare, and in exceptional cases 12 centners per hectare. If we add to this the fact that Bulgaria has many mountain masses (over 45 percent of our territory is covered by mountains), and that the arable land is much less, then you will be able to imagine more clearly the life of our villages in the past. Our country is among the last in Europe in terms of the amount of arable land per capita. In addition, there was a great over-population in our villages in the past. What was the people's fate at that time? My generation and most of the following generations remember this very well. The past has not been forgotten, the memories are still alive among us.

At the opening of the BNAU its own anthem was played. The text of this anthem was written by one of the founders of the union, the poet Tsanko Tserkovski. He is the author of many poems, but I will take the liberty of reciting only a verse from one of his poems which shows you how our people lived in the past:

"Cornmeal, cornmeal, I ate it yesterday,
I will eat it again today--what can I do
I am a poor man--
Cornmeal, cornmeal, I ate it yesterday, I will
eat it again today."

(animation and laughter, applause)

This was the food of the overwhelming majority of our people. It was a sad life: It is true that cornmeal is a Bulgarian speciality today. You can find it in specialized restaurants. (animation, laughter and applause) To tell you the truth, our grandmothers and grandfathers, our mothers and fathers, were past masters in cooking cornmeal. What we eat today does not have the same taste as the cornmeal in the past. (laughter and animation) Perhaps, though, the poverty and the hunger we suffered in those days and nights made the cornmeal cooked by our grandmothers and mothers so tasty and appetizing--for there were days when there was not even cornmeal on the table.

Now, as I told you, you can taste cornmeal only in certain restaurants where it is served as a tourist attraction, as an illustration of our former national customs. At the same time, cornmeal is a reminder of our people's former misery and poverty. Backwardness, poverty and starvation, however, cannot make us happy. They are no folkloristic goods to be propagated.

This was the situation of the past in Bulgaria. Eighty percent of our people lived in the villages, where there was no water utilities, no sewerage, no electricity, nor even conditions for the most elementary living standard.

However, in those days Bulgaria, just like the overwhelming majority of the developing countries today, did not owe its backwardness to the "incapability" of its people, but to other factors, such as the following: centuries of foreign domination, the resulting political and economic dependence on the imperialist states, the aspirations of the Bulgarian bourgeoisie to accumulate easy profits quickly, without taking into consideration the national and people's interests. It is true that we had certain prerequisites, which are characteristic of us. Preceding the victory of socialist revolution, Bulgaria had spent 60 years as an independent, bourgeois state. Our people, thanks to their natural studiousness, enjoyed a relatively highly developed educational system. We had cultural centers--the so-called "reading rooms"--which had been created by the people themselves with their own efforts and financial resources. I cannot fail to point out that, since the victory of the socialist revolution, the Soviet Union has given us an exceptionally great fraternal assistance which helped us to free ourselves from the centuries-old poverty. We are also relying upon mutual cooperation with fraternal socialist countries. This is very important.

Nevertheless, we struggled against poverty and backwardness under the conditions of a tense international situation. You all know what this situation was like--it was the atmosphere of "cold war," the atmosphere of a complete economic blockade against the socialist countries, including the Bulgarian People's Republic, by the Western states. It was an atmosphere of threat of war and of all kinds of subversive activities. We must take all this into consideration in describing our efforts to free Bulgaria from the centuries-old backwardness.

It is why the problems of the developing countries are now close to your hearts; this is why we are feeling them deep in our souls, because our people have gone through all this.

The newly liberated peoples are now facing the question of which path to proceed on, how to live and how to develop. We, esteemed guests, are not pointing out the Bulgarian path to you, we are not pointing out the Bulgarian experience to you as an experience of universal value. We have no intentions of this kind. However, I am quoting to you the example of Bulgaria in order to stress that we have started approximately at the same point at which the developing countries are starting now. Their peoples must free themselves of poverty. This is the main thing, this is the essential question. The paths can be different. This depends on the respective countries and on the peoples themselves.

Who is bearing the historical responsibility for the backwardness of the developing countries, for their peoples' difficult economic situation?

Certain people adhere to the formula of "rich" and "poor" countries, to the relations between "north" and "south." It is true, indeed, that there are rich and poor countries, but we should not forget that in the rich capitalist countries there are people who live in poverty, in bad conditions, that their life is difficult, and that there is unemployment and shortage of food. This means that the problem is not about rich and poor countries. The problem is quite different.

Certain circles are trying to shift the historical responsibility for the backwardness and poverty of the developing countries also to the socialist states. We categorically reject any accusation that we are responsible in any way for the poverty and backwardness of the developing countries. We resolutely reject this accusation, because neither we nor the USSR, nor any of the socialist states, have ever participated in the conquest and exploitation of these countries.

We have never conducted a policy of war, we have never conducted a colonialist policy of exterminating the population and of enslaving part of this population. Neither do we now participate--I must state this clearly--in any kind of economic exploitation of these countries whatsoever, either through the means of the world market or through any other forms and means. We have not distorted these countries' economies, we have not transformed them into the raw material appendage of the monopolies, we have nothing in common with all these facts.

The socialist countries have never participated in the colonialist exploitation of the peoples, they have never participated in robbing these peoples within the framework of the present capitalist international division of labor. The former colonial powers, the imperialist states, which used to exploit and are still accumulating tremendous wealth within the framework of the international mechanism created by them, a mechanism based on inequitable trade and economic relations, are responsible for the backwardness of the developing countries.

As a result, any assertion that the socialist countries are responsible for the backwardness of the above-mentioned states is not based on a scientific foundation and contradicts objective truth and historical facts.

We are aware, however, that the developing countries must be assisted. This is another question. Within the limits of their possibilities the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries are doing their utmost to give such assistance.

Comrades and friends, our assistance is selfless. We have not assigned ourselves the tasks of robbing the developing countries of their natural wealth. This is in basic contradiction to the character of our socialist system. We are not trying to steal one gram of oil or gas, not one gram of metal, not one gram of the agricultural products of these countries. Our relations with the developing states are based on the principles of equal rights, of non-interference and fraternal mutual assistance. The main goal of the socialist countries is to support the efforts of the newly liberated countries, to consolidate their political independence, to liquidate the dependency upon and the exploitation by the imperialist monopolies, and to help them to take their position based on equal rights in the system of international political, economic and cultural relations. This policy of ours is a policy of principle, it is not subjected to opportunistic considerations: it is not aimed at obligating any one-sided political and economic advantages and privileges, whatsoever. The documents which outline the main trends of the development of socialist economic integration point out that the CEMA member-countries are constantly expanding their trade, economic and scientific-technical cooperation with the developing countries.

The experience of the cooperation between the socialist countries and the developing countries to date is producing positive results. The economic relations based on equal rights are having a beneficial influence on the economies of the socialist countries, as well as upon the economies of the developing countries. With the economic and scientific-technical cooperation of the CEMA member-countries more than 3,000 large industrial enterprises of great importance have been built in states belonging to the "third world." The CEMA member-countries, and the Soviet Union in particular, are building heavy industry enterprises in those countries--metallurgical, machine building and chemical industry enterprises--as well as others. Bulgaria, for example, is giving assistance in the field of mechanization, especially in the agricultural sector. We are sending highly qualified specialists to those countries, as well as scientific workers. Unfortunately, we are not "rich people." Our possibilities are limited. We have no rich natural resources, we have no gas and no oil. Our country is poor in mineral areas. Bulgaria relies on its people's labor. However, we are assisting and we will assist the developing countries and their peoples in their historic struggle to overcome backwardness and to resolve the difficult, interconnected problems of their development. This is the assistance of friends, of allies and of comrades in arms in the common struggle against imperialism, against colonialism and neocolonialism. This is a cooperation which

gives the developing countries the opportunity to defend their basic interests and to successfully create their peoples' happiness. (applause)

The states of the socialist community are giving and will give assistance to the developing countries. As a matter of fact, it is considerable assistance. Facts and life itself resolutely reject the legend and falsification about some kind of "responsibility" of the socialist countries for the backwardness and poverty of the peoples, freed of colonial slavery. These falsifications and legends are clumsily concocted and fabricated with ulterior motives.

The path of the young national states--and the leaders of many of these states have already understood this--is the path of overcoming the distortions created by colonialism in their economies, the path of liquidating their positions as raw materials appendages and the path of agricultural development likely to give them the opportunity to eliminate hunger. This means that they must eliminate monoculture from their agricultural sector, which was imposed by the colonizers with a view to earning tremendous profits. This means that they must build their own enterprises for processing their raw materials, minerals and agricultural products.

The overcoming of the contradiction between the lagging behind of the developing countries and the possibilities opened by the utilization of their great power supply, raw materials, materials and human resources is not an easy task. It requires much persistence and time, the overcoming of various kinds of difficulties and a consistent and steady struggle with powerful and negative powers, but this is the only correct way to a steady increase of the socio-economic and cultural level of the developing countries.

The clearly expressed wish of the young national states for independent development and the achievement of economic independence, and their natural striving to assert full sovereignty over their natural resources, create a new situation in their mutual relations with the industrially developed capitalist states, something which finds reflection in the programming demands for a "new international economic order." We support these demands of the developing countries by consistently applying the principles of equality, mutual benefit, noninterference in the internal affairs and respect for sovereignty in our relations with the developing countries, and we set an example in practice for just economic international relations.

This is the truth. The problem of overcoming the backwardness of the developing countries is a problem of all mankind. It is connected with the struggle for peace, understanding and cooperation among the peoples, and cannot be separated from it. This is so because we are dealing here with hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in the world, who march on the road of their free development, who want to live in peace and utilize their natural resources, the richness of their countries and the fruits of their toil. We highly value the willingness of the peoples of these countries to utilize their natural resources, and cooperate with all our might so they may become the real masters of their countries and their own destinies. (applause)

Real Possibilities for Eliminating Hunger and Malnutrition on Our Planet

Esteemed guests, comrades, I want to touch on yet another accute issue--the issue of hunger and mankind's nutrition. You also talked about this at your conference.

Why am I raising this issue? Because on the one hand it is connected with agriculture and affects the destinies of the rural masses in the world. On the other hand, this is the first time in the history of mankind that real conditions for the solving of this issue have been created. Today there are real possibilities for finally eliminating hunger and malnutrition on our planet.

According to data of the World Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) 500 million people are starving in the world now, mainly in the developing countries. According to data supplied by specialists, another 800 million people suffer from malnutrition. Since prehistoric times hunger has constantly accompanied man, who has constantly fought nature and tried to tame it. Despite this he has not overcome this terrible scourge. We live in a century in which man, assisted by science and technology, is striving to research and conquer the cosmos. Man penetrates the secrets of nature and substance more and more deeply, discovering and fundamentally mastering more of their peculiarities, phenomena and processes and mastering new natural laws, something that makes him stronger, but the question of nutrition is still unsolved.

We have heard and hear now various theories and notions on the reasons for hunger in the world.

One of these theories is the so-called psychological theory, according to which hunger in the developing countries is a consequence of their peoples' laziness, and of the lack of initiative and diligence, and so forth. It is supplemented by the geographic thesis, which attributes hunger in these countries to their hot climate, which causes laziness, sluggishness and lack of initiative, and therefore people are starving there.

According to another theory, the earth has already reached the limit of its productivity and has exhausted its agro-biological possibilities for high yields and is no longer capable of providing enough food for all mankind.

The third theory relies upon the "demographic explosion" which exists in the world, especially since World War II. Its supporters maintain that the "mouths which are to be fed are increasing faster than the food," and that the earth's population is growing faster than the earth's possibilities to feed it.

We, esteemed guests and esteemed comrades, fully reject these theories and notions as groundless and misanthropic. Despite the variety of their arguments, they all maintain the same thing: hunger has and will always exist.

It is the "natural" state of affairs in society. We reject all these theories because they have nothing in common with scientific analysis and prognosis, and because their class and political purpose is to hinder the development of the "third world" countries under the new conditions, in the interest of foreign monopolies and to prove that in the future social development there will be no substantial changes, ergo, hunger has and will always exist.

No special proof is needed to understand that all these theories and notions are groundless, have no scientific foundations and aim at defending the monopolies' interests.

Let us consider the issue of laziness. There was a time when the Bulgarian, Yugoslav, Romanian and Russian peoples were also accused of being lazy and living badly. You see, however, that today in Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, Romania and the USSR not only does no one starve but our peoples' dishes grow richer and richer.

Let us consider the geographic factor--I mean the hot or cold climate as a reason for laziness. (laughter) In the USSR, for instance, there are republics where the climate is not only warm but even hot. Yet they are some of the most developed republics. The USSR's northern regions, where the temperature reaches minus 40-50 degrees, are also being transformed. This is taking place not only in the USSR but also in many other countries.

Let us consider the other theory, according to which the earth has exhausted its agro-biological possibilities. This is also absolutely false. If we consider the facts we will see that between the 15th and 18th centuries one hectare yielded 607 centners of grain (60-79 kg from a quarter of an acre), during the 19th century 16 centners (160 kg), while in the middle of the 20th century the developed countries achieve 30-40 centners per hectare (300-400 kg from a quarter of an acre). Following this historic issue, we see that the same earth, cultivated for thousands of years, is giving bigger and bigger yields. Despite the absolute population growth on our planet, the average per capita yield has risen 22 percent. This is also a significant fact. According to the specialists' forecasts, by the end of the century, the per hectare grain yield will reach 40-50 and even 60 per centner, (400-500 and even 600 kg a quarter of an acre). This is a realistic task.

I must say to you, esteemed guests, that this year in Bulgaria we achieved the forecasts for 1980 for the developed countries. We obtained 49 centners of wheat and 50 centners of corn per hectare (400 kg wheat and 500 kg corn a quarter of an acre).

Consequently, the theory of the so-called agro-biological factor must be rejected as false, and as being adduced in contradiction to the historical facts, and the development of the contemporary scientific-technical revolution, which is also taking place in agriculture.

Now, what about the other factor--the "demographic explosion?" It is true that this phenomenon has existed in the developing countries since World War II. There are many reasons for this, but the scientists' forecasts indicate that this is a temporary phenomenon and will gradually regulate itself and stabilize. According to them it is expected that by the middle of the next century the population of our planet will be about 11-12 billion people. Mother earth is fully capable of feeding the planet population. We are in a stage of our development in which mankind has the possibilities to solve this task.

Consequently it is not a question of laziness, or the geographic situation of the population, or the demographic factor or the decrease of earth's agrobiological possibilities. Hunger is a purely social problem.

Therefore our efforts and the efforts of mankind must be directed toward eliminating hunger, namely by utilizing the huge possibilities mother earth has, the earth which we cultivate and on which we live. We do not imagine that this will be easy, huge capital investments, science development, new technologies and a redistribution of manpower are necessary. Still, mankind today is capable of all this.

There are now two main approaches in the world for solving the hunger problem and eliminating the backwardness of the developing countries.

The first approach, as I already mentioned, aims at proving to the world and the developing countries' peoples that hunger is hunger, and that it has and will always exist. The hunger problem cannot be solved through this approach. It is attempted through this approach to divert the young national states from the noncapitalist way of development and, more specifically, to compel them to relinquish the policy of the independent use of their own resources.

Not long ago I had the opportunity to acquaint myself with a report of highly competent U.S. institutes and persons, This report has many interesting aspects, especially from the point of view of increasing the earth's fertility. But what is its main thesis? The United States and the other Western countries which produce agricultural products should increase their production many times, and first of all the food for the so-called "third world" population. Through this "assistance" with food they strive to maintain the dependence of these countries, because food is man's basic need. They often speculate with hunger and threaten various countries that if they do not fulfill defined political requirements, the export of food to them will be stopped. We emphatically oppose this "carrot and stick" approach.

We are in favor of the other approach--to give such assistance, and thus to mobilize the efforts of the developing countries so that they may be able to resolve their own problem by themselves. It is a well-known fact that Asia, Africa and Latin America have tremendous territories. The soil of the developing countries, at least as far as the countries I have visited are concerned, is exceptionally fertile, much more fertile than our own

Bulgarian soil. In our country, for example, the climate conditions are relatively hard, not to mention the Soviet Union, where these conditions are extremely hard. In Bulgaria we have winter, frost and hail. It is rare that we can obtain two harvests. In many developing countries, however, people can harvest several times a year. These are rich areas and rich countries, capable of feeding their own and other peoples.

Under the favorable soil and climatic conditions our agriculture is now feeding Bulgaria one and a half times, but we have assigned ourselves the task that as of 1980 we should produce twice as much as it is necessary to feed our country, and as of 1985 to produce three times as much. (applause) This is a realistic and feasible task. It will be implemented along with the constant improvement of our people's living standard. Since, under Bulgarian conditions, we are capable of implementing this task, why should the developing countries not be able to implement it, when there are better conditions and opportunities to feed even more people on their territories?

Come to our country after 1985 and you will see the facts. You will be convinced that our agriculture will be able to cover the needs of a territory three times as large as Bulgaria, along with an increased living standard.

This can happen in Angola too, for example. There is wonderful soil there, but because that country was exploited until recently it is being cultivated in a primitive manner. There are wonderful people in Angola: I am talking about Angola, but the same applies to other countries too. I was in India, for example. A wonderful country. It is a praiseworthy fact that the Indian Government is dealing with agriculture and that this year the highest yields of grain in the history of India have been obtained. (applause) In the past the Indians used to harvest 80-85 million tons of grain, whereas now they have obtained 118 million tons of grain and have created a reserve. You see what opportunities exist for a country that has freed itself, a country which is collecting forces in order to be able to cover its own needs. It will be able to do this, despite the fact that India's population consists of 600 million people. Of course, the Republic of India is still facing several problems in this respect.

I would like once more to assure you, dear friends, that the Bulgarian People's Republic, together with the other countries of the socialist community, will continue to support your noble efforts, the efforts of the developing countries to overcome economic backwardness, and in particular backwardness in the economic sector, efforts for the accelerated development and modernization of agriculture and to eliminate the conditions producing hunger and malnutrition, insuring conditions for the well-being of your peoples, who have suffered so much. (applause)

Esteemed guests, comrades, I would like to close my speech with the question with which I began--namely with the conclusion that the prosperity and happiness of mankind depends to the greatest extent upon the further cohesion of all forces which are sincerely and honestly struggling for peace, for understanding and for social progress. These forces, however, are tremendous.

We, the communists, have by no means assigned ourselves the task of having a monopoly in rallying the peace-loving forces. We are deeply convinced of the necessity of merging all progressive movements, political currents and organizations in a united purpose-oriented current, based on a common platform of peace, democracy and social progress, a current directed against war. It is no coincidence that the efforts of the reactionary imperialist circles are aimed at splitting the supporters of the detente policy, at setting the workers class against other strata of the working people, against the socialist countries and the rest of Europe and the world.

This is why the struggle for peace, freedom and social progress, the struggle for prosperity and happiness, insistently demands that we preserve and consolidate the unity and solidarity of the ranks of the peace movement, of all working people and of all democratic and anti-imperialist forces in the world. The united actions of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, of all working people, on a national as well as on international scales, are the most important principles of the struggle for the defense of the vital interests and rights of working people, for the defense of basic socioeconomic and political changes, for the elimination of all forms of national oppression and for the establishment of close friendship and cooperation among peoples.

The BCP welcomes with particular satisfaction the fact that recently the peasants and affiliated parties and organizations with different political tendencies have been organizing international meetings aimed at uniting the efforts of the peasant masses on a worldwide scale and at strengthening the role of the peasant masses and their activities in the struggle for peace and security.

The rallying of the efforts of peace is being resolved in each individual country with a view to the existing historical conditions, with a view to the present circumstances and with a view to the traditions of unity of action of the masses, and so forth. The main, the principal thing, is to rally these forces in the struggle for peace and for understanding among the peoples' it is to eliminate war forever from the life of mankind and to create conditions for a peaceful development, for social progress and for a happy life of the people.

We are sincerely and honestly fighting for peace, for understanding and cooperation among the peoples. This struggle is laid down in our five-year plans, in our programs. These programs envisage the further building of the material-technical basis of our society, the construction of a developed socialist society. The things you see in the socialist countries, including the Bulgarian People's Republic, are being built not for the purpose of destruction, dear comrades and guests, but for the happiness of our peoples, for the happiness of the Bulgarian nation. As a result of this, we in the socialist countries are vitally interested in peace and in a peaceful development. Our international program is a program of peace and of understanding.

This is the main factor. To think, however, that Bulgaria could be turned back, that it could be diverted from the path it is proceeding on, these

are vain hopes and unfounded dreams. Some people think that they can destroy the unity of the Bulgarian people and set them against the Soviet Union and the other countries of the socialist community. It is truly amazing to discover what kind of reason and realism guides such thoughts. There is no realism in them at all.

Recently a Western journalist came to me. I respect him and respect his profession. He wanted to interview me about democracy. Well, we sat down and spoke in a friendly manner. I saw that he had come with a prejudiced cliché idea of democracy and that he always tried to come back to the subject. I answered him thoroughly, giving examples of our practical life, but he was not satisfied with my answers. Then I told him: "Do you agree to go with me to a Bulgarian village, no matter which one. We will call a meeting. As one of our country's leaders I enjoy a certain prestige and people will come en masse to this meeting. If I start talking against the cooperative system in the village, against cooperative farming, they all will start laughing, because they will think I am joking. If I continue to talk to them, telling them that it is necessary to disband the cooperative farms, they will say that something has happened to Comrade Zhivkov. (laughter) If, despite all this, I continue to talk in this spirit they may beat me up and throw me out. (animation, laughter) This is our kind of democracy," I told the journalist. "It lies in the people's consciousness and in their stomachs." (prolonged applause)

As regards conditions in Bulgaria, I must say that we are rallying our people's efforts by working together with the BNAU. We are the nucleus and the powerful factor in rallying the people. The workers' class and the agricultural toilers, as well as the intelligentsia, the young people and the women.

Our unity of action with the BNAU has been existing as long as for 50 years. For more than three decades we have been building new Bulgaria together. At the BNAU congress we felt our unity and cohesion in the common struggle and in our joint labor devoted to building a developed socialist society.

I must say that if we look at things from the historical point of view, this alliance is absolutely natural. We think that there is nothing peculiar in this, that everything is simple and normal and logical. It is, however, by no means so. Our path went through great difficulties. It was necessary to overcome many ideological delusions. It was necessary to act against the enemies of our unity, against the enemies of our joint political front, which we were building in the struggle, in a very hard struggle. This political front of ours was achieved at the cost of much blood, shed together. The fascist dictatorship in Bulgaria used to shoot communists, agrarians, and nonparty patriots. Thus, our communist-agrarian alliance is by no means accidental. It has been achieved at the price of suffering. It has passed through various stages, until it finally developed into a truly fraternal unity, into full understanding and comradely cooperation. (applause)

You know that I am communist, as one of the older generation, not as far as my age is concerned but as far as my activities are concerned. (animation) I have worked under the conditions of bourgeois Bulgaria as well as under the conditions of the monarcho-fascist dictatorship. I have been arrested many times. I cannot even say how many times, maybe a dozen times. This is not important. However, the important thing is that united agrarians were arrested with me. They used to beat them up and beat me up at the same time. (laughter, animation) They did not discriminate at all. (animation)

To think only of the reasons for which they used to shoot people at that time: I have no intention of giving a recital here, but I will take the liberty of quoting another verse. There is a well-known Bulgarian poet, who was a member of the BNAU. His name was Sergey Rumyantsev. He used to write poems for the people, for the peasants, about their suffering, against the rich landowners and farmers, about a better life for the people. He wrote neither about the world proletarian revolution, nor about proletarian dictatorship. He wrote, as people say, for the people, for the working peasants, about their lot and about their justifiable protest, about their struggle for happiness. I will recite to you, from memory, a verse he wrote in one of his poems:

"In our striving for new horizons, we will dissolve the last
clouds of darkness, in our hearts rebellion is raising its voice,
in our souls--protest is thundering."

Is there anything bad about this? Nothing. For such poems, however, they burned alive the poet, citizen and fighter for the people's right, Sergey Rumyantsev. He was burned alive in the ovens of the monarcho-fascist police quarters, just as the fighters for human progress in the past used to be burned alive at the stake.

The fraternal alliance between the BCP and the BNAU is not dictated and has never been dictated by opportunistic considerations of the time, it has never been based on the policy of opportunism. It is a line and policy of rallying all democratic and progressive forces in the struggle for the people's liberation from oppression and exploitation, in the construction of socialist society, a line and policy in pursuance of a great goal--implementation of the material and cultural upsurge of the people, socialist prosperity of the nation and of the motherland.

Certain propaganda centers in the West have alleged on many occasions that our political system is a "totalitarian" one, that the Communist Party has "monopolized" the leadership of social and state life, that it has condemned the other political parties and organizations to passivity, that it is eliminating them from an active and independent political activity.

This is an old legend, but the interesting fact is that it is being revived again and is being particularly strongly exploited at a moment when in certain countries the trends toward unity of the progressive and democratic forces

are being intensified. Such things are happening at the present moment. These allegations were refuted a long time ago by history. The manysided, constructive cooperation existing between the BCP and the BNAU on all basic questions of our foreign and domestic policy also refutes such legends at the present moment.

Whoever would truly like to learn about the relations being created between our two parties, about the sources from which our alliance and unity of action takes its strength and vitality, whoever wishes to achieve this knowledge, should become acquainted with the 50-year struggle of communists and united agrarians. He should see their joint deeds in building new Bulgaria. Man, his prosperity, his material and intellectual development--these are the essence and meaning of all our efforts, our entire, joint activities.

Whoever wishes to see how this unity of action and alliance was created in the past between the BNAU and the BCP should not only be present at the congresses but should go to the villages all over Bulgaria and become convinced that in the fatherland front and in its organizations, in all links of our administration at the center and on a local scale, the nucleus, which is directing the practical development of our country, which is setting the pace of their development, is represented by the solid friendship between communists and agrarians. (prolonged applause)

I hope, esteemed guests, that if you are unable now, you will visit Bulgaria again for a second and third time, will acquaint yourself with it and with the things that inspire our people, including our agriculturists, in their thoughts and deeds. You will have the opportunity to acquaint yourself not only with the successes but also with the weaknesses and the problems we face, and our plans for the future. However, you will be convinced of one thing--that the Bulgarian People's Republic is developing successfully, that communists and united members of the Agrarian Union--our entire people are united and allied around the BCP and around the party program for constructing the developed socialist society in Bulgaria, (applause) that communists and united members of the Agrarian Union and the entire Bulgarian people most warmly support the idea of and work selflessly and honestly for the unity of action of all progressive forces, for friendship and cooperation among nations, and for lasting peace and social progress on our planet. (prolonged applause)

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EAST GERMANY

JULY 1977 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 12 Jul 77 p 4

[Bernd Grabowski review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32, No 7, July 1977, signed to press 13 June 1977, pages 769-896: "Important Experiences From Party Work." The summaries of this EINHEIT issue's major articles have been translated and published in pages following this review]

[Text] The special significance of the Ninth FDGB Congress lies in the fact that "its decisions are consistently aimed at using the tremendous strength of the trade unions for the implementation of the SED program." This is stated by Johanna Toepfer, deputy chairperson of the FDGB national executive, in the latest issue of EINHEIT. According to her, this results in a great commitment for the trade unions: "The path to the goal laid down in the party program is certainly no easy stroll; it requires everyone's full dedication, but it is not a thorny path full of hardships but a path through fields rich in yield, from which we will harvest more and more if we cultivate them well."

Suggestions for the propagandist are also contained in the report on the conference about the further tasks of political work with the masses. It is preceded by the text of the SED Central Committee Politburo decision of 18 May 1977, on which the conference was based.

Jochen Hertwig, first secretary of the SED Frankfurt Bezirk management, in his contribution conveys experiences of party work. He arrives at the conclusion that the mastery of the Leninist working style is becoming ever more the decisive criterion of successful party work. "This working style is characterized by partisanship, creativeness, affinity with the masses, a scientific approach, long-term thinking and readiness to make decisions, collectivity of leadership and full assumption of personal responsibility, constructive criticism and the urge to bring about changes."

Further articles deal with the role of the developing countries in world politics, agriculture in capitalism and the economic effects of micro-electronics.

EAST GERMANY

SUMMARIES OF MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 32 No 7, Jul 77 signed to press 13 Jun 77
'For Documentation' addendum

Ninth FDGB Congress--Reliable Guidelines for Eight Million Trade Unionists

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Johanna Toepfer, SED Central Committee member, deputy chairperson of FDGB national executive; pp 771-778]

[Text] The Ninth Congress decisions are aimed at using the strength of the FDGB for the implementation of the SED program. The struggle for the fulfillment of the main task lies in the center of trade union representation. Thus the organization of socialist competition calls for ever increasing attention. By perfecting the trade union forms of its political-ideological work, its dedication to the continuing improvement of the working and living conditions and the creation of an atmosphere that makes everyone comfortable in the work collective, the FDGB makes sure that the working people's creativity develops fully everywhere.

Political Work With the Masses--Convincing, Militant and Mobilizing

[Summary of article by Klaus Gaebler, graduate in philosophy, deputy department chief in SED Central Committee; Horst Rother, graduate in social sciences, political researcher in SED CC; and Prof Dr Joerg Vorholzer, deputy department chief in SED CC, deputy chief editor of EINHEIT; pp 792-799]

[Text] The SED Central Committee held a conference in Berlin on 25 and 26 May 1977 on the further tasks in the party's political mass activities. Proceeding from the Politburo decision about those tasks, the opening speech by Comrade Erich Honecker and the speech by Comrade Werner Lamberz, this article explains the new and higher demands placed on political mass activities, reports on the outcome of the conference and on the meaning, main substance, forms and methods of the work to be done, and focuses on tasks that now will have to be solved.

Higher Standards for Party Work

[Summary of article by Jochen Hertwig, graduate in social sciences, SED Central Committee member; first secretary, SED Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk management; member, EINHEIT editorial board; pp 800-808]

[Text] With reference to the outcome of the party elections in the basic organizations it is being shown how the communists in a bezirk party organization seek further to strengthen the basic organizations' fighting strength, raise the efficacy and effectiveness of political-ideological work, direct every comrade's activities toward the solution of the decisive tasks and consolidate further the relationship of trust with all working people. By deriving general rules from experiences gathered, many suggestions and recommendations are offered pertaining to purposeful political leadership activity and everyday political mass activities.

Our Fraternal Alliance With the Party of Lenin--Tradition and Present

[Summary of article by Dr Heinz Karl, sector chief in SED Central Committee's Institute for Marxism-Leninism; pp 809-816]

[Text] Through its fraternal alliance with the CPSU, the SED is carrying on a tradition that has been an essential feature of the German communist movement from the very beginning. The combat alliance with Lenin's party significantly contributed to the formation and maturation of the Marxist-Leninist party of the German workers class. The shaping of real socialism in the Soviet Union was of crucial aid to the German communists in their struggle against imperialism, fascism and war, and for democracy and socialism. The whole history of our party teaches us that the fraternal alliance with Lenin's party and with the Soviet Union is the basis for all successes.

The Tenth Five Year Plan of the Soviet Union--A Plan for Effectiveness and Quality

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Rolf Pieplow and Dr Wolfgang Zschockelt, researchers in International Institute for Economic Problems of the Socialist World System at CEMA, Moscow; pp 817-824]

[Text] The nature of CPSU economic policy as decided on by the 25th Party Congress is explained and illuminated by concrete data: It consistently continues its course toward raising the material and cultural standard of living of the Soviet people by a dynamic and proportionate development of social production, its increased efficiency, the acceleration of scientific-technical progress, increased labor productivity and the greatest possible quality improvements in all economic fields.

Shift Work--High Demand on Political Management Activity

[Summary of article by Manfred Haertlein, graduate in political science, economics secretary of SED Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk management; and Prof Dr Lothar Hummel, department chief in Central Institute for Socialist Economic Management at SED Central Committee; pp 825-831]

[Text] Purposeful political work, well planned economic, technical and organizational measures and social improvements have produced progress in shift work in Auerbach Kreis and Muehlhausen Kreis. Kreis party headquarters, the local state organs and the people's representatives have had a great share in it; they jointly saw to it that concrete programs were worked out for raising the shift factor. The positive experiences are analyzed to provide general insights that may then be used everywhere, with due regard for any concrete local and industrial conditions.

Fine Arts in Our Life

[Summary of article by Dr Peter H. Feist, professor of art studies, aesthetics and arts section, Humboldt University, East Berlin; pp 832-840]

[Text] In preparation for the eighth art exhibition of the GDR, the author points to the growing interest in the visual arts in recent years, discusses the relationship between the visual arts and history and the dialectics of individual and society, analyzes the variety in the modes of expression and points to the need for persistently struggling, through joint partnership discussions, for ideological clarity in our art and for steadily elevating its productive function in our life.

NATO Against Detente and Security

[Summary of article by Col Dr Albrecht Charisius, GDR Military History Institute; pp 841-846]

[Text] The results of the most recent NATO conferences are analyzed, which once again demonstrate the dangerous adventurist policy of the most aggressive imperialist circles and their being in gross contradiction to the Final Act of Helsinki. It shows that progress in further deepening detente must be fought for by the peace-loving forces of the whole world through harsh and tough confrontation with all the many-hued enemies of detente. Favorable conditions exist for it despite all the current intrigues of the enemies of detente.

The Great Socialist October Revolution and Current Problems of the National Liberation Movement

[Summary of article by Dr Friedel Trappen and Dr Siegfried Buettner, deputy department chief and sector chief, respectively, in SED Central Committee; pp 847-856]

[Text] The triumph of the October Revolution initiated the crisis of the colonial system and opened new prospects for the national liberation struggle. Against imperialist resistance, the final disintegration of the colonial system set in while the socialist world community formed and developed into the leading factor of world politics. The superiority and attractiveness of real socialism are putting the most progressive leadership forces of national liberation onto the course toward Marxism-Leninism. For them, the October Revolution, the reality and power of socialism, is the decisive factor in the further achievements of their struggle.

The Role of the Developing Countries in the International Class Conflict

[Summary of article by Dr Gertraud Liebscher, lecturer, Institute for International Relations, GDR Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence; and Dr Klaus Kannapin, department head in GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 857-864]

[Text] Starting from the diversities in the foreign policy lines of the nationally liberated states, an analysis is offered of the trend in nonalliance, in which opposing class forces are involved. Most of these states are assuming constructive positions on the basic questions of contemporary international development. The struggle by the developing countries for enforcing the full sovereignty over their natural resources and for overcoming their unequal and disadvantaged position in the capitalist world economy -- a struggle always supported by the socialist states -- is dealt with in detail.

Agriculture Under the Dictate of Monopoly Capital

[Summary of article by Dr Amandus Siebert, researcher at GDR Institute for International Politics and Economics; pp 868-874]

[Text] The observation by the founders of Marxism-Leninism, that in consequence of the effects of the economic laws of the capitalist exploiter system the working peasants are massively being ruined and proletarianized, is explicitly being confirmed by concrete data on agriculture in today's state monopoly capitalism. From the urge for specialized, industrialized production, induced by the development of the productive forces, only the monopolies and some of the large-scale farmers derive advantages under capitalist conditions, while ever greater burdens plague the working peasants and consumers.

HUNGARY

PENTECOSTAL CHURCH ACTIVITIES, MEMBERSHIP DESCRIBED

Budapest VALOSAG in Hungarian No 6, Jun 77 pp 380-386

[Article by Zsuzsa Horvath: "They Were All Filled With the Holy Spirit"]

[Text] Few people have studied the Hungarian free-church movements. Imre Kovacs¹ noticed the phenomenon between the world wars. After 1945, Laszlo Kardos² wrote scientifically on the subject. This does not mean that interest is lacking in the free churches, but the churches closed themselves off from the viewing of the lives of their communities. One of the reasons for this is that the memory of harassments and persecutions suffered by the older members before the liberation is still vivid. Alas, one or two newspaper stories that appeared in recent years, based on interviews of only a few persons, printed conclusions that Hungarian free churches also hinder research.

Therefore, we regard our situation as somewhat privileged: From November 1975 to April 1976 we carried out empirical research, using interviews, questionnaires and observations, in a community of the Evangelical Pentecostal Community with the permission of the Council of Hungarian Free Churches.

The name of the Pentecostal movement refers to the events that took place on Whitsun Sunday and can be seen in Apostles: "[The apostles] were filled with the Holy Spirit and started to speak in many tongues" (Apostles 2:4). The Pentecostals feel that this is also possible for anyone today. The characteristic of the movement is that, from the beginning, there have been several sects independent of one another. Therefore, we can hardly give a general view of their tenets. Along with other free-church movements, they baptize their members (generally past the age of 16) by complete immersion. This religious sect was born in the United States early this century. Its main branch, the Assemblies of God, was formed in 1906 in Los Angeles. The various trends spread extremely rapidly in Europe, and the other continents as well. A significant part of the missionary effort was done by emigrant and returned [from America] believers. The faithful was estimated to number 29 million in 1971.³

Some theologians regard the Pentecostal movement as the third sect of Christianity, along with the Catholic and Protestant Churches. The World

Council of Churches [WCC] accepted two Chilean Pentecostal communities as members in 1961. Since 1966, high-level talks have been taking place between the WCC and the leaders of the movement.

The Pentecostal movement appeared in Hungary in the early '20's for the first time. The strongest sect emanated from the Bakonycsérnye community which was founded in 1926. The first national conference was held at Kisést in 1928. The minister of the interior forbade the operation of the movement in 1939. The gendarmerie and the large churches persecuted the believers. After the liberation, the inequality between the faiths ended and the law ensured religious freedom. Ever since, the free churches have been able to exist legally as members of the Hungarian Council of Free Churches. In our history, the greatest increases in their activity occurred at the end of the forties and the beginning of the fifties.

The Evangelical Pentecostal Community was formed by the merging of several sects. Its bylaws were finished in 1974 and it has about 3,000 members. Its basic units are the communities and the traces. (The traces have a maximum of 20 members.) The chief organ is the National Assembly, in which the delegates, the active ministers, the members of the Central Council (president, vice president, secretary, and the four national district aldermen), the director of the Central Office, the Pentecostal teachers of the seminary, and the members of the special committees (missionary, theological, literature, music, building, and control) participate. The leaders are elected to their posts on all levels.

The individual temples have great autonomy in their internal affairs.

The community we studied is in the immediate vicinity of Budapest. The village had Pentecostals already in the '30's, but an independent community was formed only in the late '40's. There were 46 members in 1976.

It is remarkable that only a few members were born in this village; the rest moved here from other parts of the country. Their origins are not evenly spread on the map of the country. Almost one-half of the members were born in Bekes Megye or lived there a long time. A large "moving wave" in the '60's brought them to this village; 50 percent of them settled here at that time. Their uprooting was part of a mass movement, and its reason is economic change.

Between 1960 and 1970, Bekes Megye had the largest emigration in the country. The '60's, there, revealed an industry that required little investment and skill and consisted mostly of dispersed cooperatives, home industries along with, principally, food and textile industries. Even in 1966, it ranked 17th among the 19 megyes in industrial development. In the original villages, their labor was needed only in agriculture. However, "15-20 years ago the cooperatives were very weak; they hardly paid anything. Some days my father earned only one work unit, worth 6 forints. I remember how he sighed when he came home, because there we were, the children; he was very sad, for he

was 50 years of age and worked so hard at everything--and moonlighted, too." (G.B.) It is not accident that industrial work was the number one desire: Industry is the tool of assured existence. Not only was industrialization lacking, but local learning of trade skills was limited, too.

None of the members is in farming now, and only one of the employers is related to agriculture. Seven are in industry and 23 in services. Half of the workers have trades.

Thus, some of the members (the older ones) made a long journey in social structure from the first earning employment to the present one: The intra-generation occupational mobility is great; this meant a rise in social strata, too.

Their road was not smooth, by any means. Since local-earning opportunities were so meager, they had to go away to find work and learning; the fathers and grown children left the old homestead. The families fragmented, and eventually the old house was given up.

However, mobility did not start in this generation. The examination of a single community, counting less than 50 souls, cannot give, naturally, statistical underpinning to our theories. We can attempt to sketch a few hypothetical types, spanning four generations and based on the similarities of several families' mobilities and general sociological precepts, which appear to sensitize the subjects to the attractions of the Pentecostal faith. We assume that a broader examination would find these types elsewhere as well, and offer an opportunity to analyze their frequencies.

A common feature is peasant origin. In one family type the first generation were sharecroppers or day laborers. Before the liberation, Bekes Megye was one of the megyes with the largest landholdings. Sharecroppers were on the bottom in prestige but had some economic security. A possibility among the meager opportunities of the second generation was railroading. Earnings here were not influenced by natural calamities or personal caprices of employers, and thus it meant substantial safety even beyond the active working age in the form of pensions. Those who stayed in farming--the majority--gained new hopes when land distribution occurred. "We worked without draft animals; there were no horses or anything else useful, for that poor land... We pulled the plow. We did not pull it far, though, how could we?" (A.T.) Members of the third generation are often in industry as unskilled or semiskilled workers. Demand for a trade is characteristic of the fourth generation, but even here it extends only to trades of lesser prestige. The extent and rate of the mobility of this type is very low.

The families where the first generation had some land (but not enough for a living) represent another type. They added day labor and sharecropping wages to their income. The second generation attempted to stay on this level, but the liberation had a great significance in their and their children's lives. In Hungary, 40.7 percent of the recipients of the 1945 land distribution were

farm laborers and 33.3 percent small landowners. These received, on the average, 3.9 and 4.9 hectares of land, respectively, which was, along with what they already had, enough to sustain them. The socialist reorganization of agriculture started in the early '50's. At the beginning, not all production cooperatives could provide enough income for the members. At the same time, the industrially underdeveloped parts had meager opportunity for any other earning. "Oh, I remember, how much I had to tramp about," says Mrs A.T. "to go to Mezobereny, to the textile factory, to get work. I applied for more than a year, almost every 2 weeks, and still couldn't get one. There was such a shortage of jobs; people can't imagine today, the young, how it was, what pushing occurred when we learned that at some place there was an opening: Oh, there were 200 applicants and the one that got it was truly happy. I tried for years to get a job at [Bekes] csaba. And even for that, how long, how many times I pushed myself on them, and waited, so that it might be my turn at long last, and get hired."

The heads of families of the third generation had to commute at first, and their grown sons, who had yet to rear their own families, moved to Budapest or its suburbs. Thus the migration of the fourth generation started earlier than that of its parents'.

It is of note that the mobility of this type has not ended. Many of the young did not stay in the large companies but went into service industries and other nonproducing branches, This was accompanied by a certain increase in schooling.

Of the next family type, the first generation did not actually have more land than the first type but their farming was of a higher order. They practiced intensive farming, viticulture and gardening. Agricultural expertise--even if not documented by diplomas--was a matter of survival for them. They extended their income by renting land. In the second generation, land distribution improved the material lot of these people also. Later the farming cooperative lowered their income and this precipitated the transformation of the family heads into workers (intrageneration change), especially when the family was large. Compared to the previous types, the important difference is that, in this type, the third generation already possessed skills and many in the fourth generation are middle-level experts (mainly in non-producing branches), and, in fact, there is already an intellectual among them.

In this type, occupational and schooling mobility is very strong. The base of this is a different socioeconomic starting position.

Imre Kovacs and Laszlo Kardos saw in these peasant layers the social base of the Pentecostal movement. They found that, in the great majority of families belonging to these types, the first of the believers were not farmers anymore but first-generation workers. Thus we see the role of the faith in the process of social mobility: to ease the change of living conditions for the members of the congregation and in fact to further improve it.

It is notable that many of those members, who did not rise rapidly from share-cropping in the secular world, became functionaries in the [Evangelical Pentecostal] community. A similarly important role is played in the movement by the very mobile fourth-generation workers.

In farmer families different from the above two types, the first two generations owned stable holdings (a little over 10). The socialist reorganization of agriculture hurt these people excessively. The Pentecostal faith met strong objection within these families. We regard this fact as a further illustration of the fact that certain economic situations benefit the spread of the Pentecostal faith and others do not.

An important index of social mobility is schooling. The prestige of education and culture became general in our Whitsun movement only in the last decade. Some 20 or 25 years ago a minister still attempted to keep the young away from school by quoting the Bible: "We should rather choose the meagerness of God's people, the smaller slice of bread, rather than giving our soul to this world." Presently the average schooling of the community is 9 years. This is higher than the national adult average and is also probably outstanding in the Pentecostal movement.

<u>Schooling</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Skilled</u>
4-5 grades	2	--
6 grades	5	2
8 grades	11	5
some high school	7	4
finished high school	3	1 (trade high school)
some college	3	3
college degree	1	1
Total	32	16

(We do not have data for 14 persons.)

In the coming years the average schooling of the community will keep rising because of the 10 persons who started high school or college 8 did not finish but converted to correspondence status.

The cultural level of the faithful is also very high when compared to the level of schooling. This is indicated by the fact that in leisure time activities reading and listening to music are in the first place, especially among the young.

Membership has not changed much in this congregation in recent years. There were about 40 in 1962 and 52 in 1974. Although no large increase is expected, the community will not die out, either. Although we can't claim effective proselytizing, the membership renews itself.

The believer families are characterized by the large number of children. In this community the married and widowed mothers had, on the average, 4.2 live births. This is significantly higher than the national average (2.5 in 1970). It is important to divide the mothers into those who were Pentecostal believers at the time of the birth of their last child and those who could not yet be influenced by the faith. We extended our data with ascending, descending and lateral family trees.

Per Mother at Birth of Last Child

<u>Number of Children</u>	<u>A Believer</u>	<u>Not a Believer</u>	<u>Total</u>
1	--	4	4
2	4	9	13
3	9	5	14
4	2	3	5
5	4	2	6
6	4	--	4
7	2	--	2
8	1	--	1
9	4	--	4
10-12	--	--	--
13	--	1	1
Number of Mothers	30	24	54
Number of children	145	72	217
Children/Mother	4.83	3.00	4.02

There is a large and significant difference in the average number of children between the believing and nonbelieving mothers. Even the nonbelieving group's average is above the national average. One can say that in those families that have community members there are many children. We can explain this with the socioeconomic history of the families. The many children in a farming family do not mean added care but, on the contrary, economic support to their parents, especially in their old age. The farming family, as a production unit, needed many working hands, and, thus, the children meant added labor.

We also find, however, that the multichild families' believing members have even more children; the faith, therefore, influences family size. "Many say how can one in today's world take on such a thing? Doesn't she have enough in her head, to find a solution? It isn't so. We are aware of these matters. We are not such backward people that we wouldn't know that there are 'ways.' But we undertook the other way, and we feel that life is in the hands of the Good Lord: He can give, take away, and not give at all. All choices are His. I'm but a small dot to put my hand before His and say, 'Thank you; what I have is enough for me.' What burden He gives, he gives the strength to handle." (Mrs P.S., 31 years, mother of 8). Induced abortion is an infraction of discipline and is rejected even in dangerous pregnancies. Prevention, however, is opposed only by the older members nowadays. This does not mean that the younger ones want less than 3-4 children. There were excesses in the Hungarian movement in the past; the number of children was regarded to be a degree of faithfulness, although, as A.T. said (who has

"only" 3 children, for which he had been criticized in his previous congregation), "I don't find it written anywhere that only those can be faithful who have 10 or 15 children. Because God does not measure one on a scale that depends on the number of children. This is why it is not necessary to have children coming as if on an assembly line, and my wife may even be a victim of it all."

The children visit the temple from age 1 1/2-2 years regularly and get used to manners at meetings. From 3 to 14 years of age they go to the children's Bible circle. They are instructed in three age groups. One of the most important areas in this work is the development of speaking ability, to get them used to speak before the assembly. These abilities help not only the mobility within the community but assist progress in the secular world as well.

The parents realize that the school takes a part in evolving the children's view of the world. "We know that there is a fight between the ideologies, because in school the children are taught the opposite. But I can't give up the fight, not on my part. I owe it to God that I preach what I am convinced of as good and right." (J.M.)

After age 14 the children go to youth hours, once a week. Whereas they go to the Bible circle by their parents' will, now they can choose on their own whether to attend. Immersion usually occurs between 16 and 20. "Handing down the faith" is very effective in the believer families: 73 percent of their children over 16 chose the believer's life.

Knowing the above, it should not surprise us to find that 80 percent of the members are related. Only one cause is the inheritance of the faith from one generation to the next. There are two additional factors: Geographical origin shows a relatively small spread and the Pentecostal norm. The by-laws state that it is an infraction of discipline, followed by excommunication, if someone marries a nonmember. In this community, this is regarded more lightly: They merely disapprove. The view does not flow out of the faith but rather of the experience that in such cases, the believer often drops out of the community. "The coexistence of positive and negative things is followed by the negative affecting the positive because it is the more natural." (K.R.) If the faith proves stronger, the marriage goes bad. However, divorce is also an infraction of discipline unless the other party is an adulterer.

The majority of the community, therefore, grew up in a believing atmosphere or are at least related to Pentecostals. Those who were the first in their families to join are usually immersed as adults. Such large-scale conversions took place the last time in the late '40's and early '50's. Although adult conversions often affected the active members of other faiths, we do not believe that only an unfulfilled religious feeling was the cause. The fundamental social changes of that period entailed conflicts in private destinies and difficult problems. To bear these difficulties one needed

spiritual strength and energy, which many tried to gain, eventually, from the faith. We cannot regard such co-occurrences between the "secular" events of the world and the appearance of Pentecostal faith, shown by one of the couples, as mere coincidence. This couple had enough land to assure a relatively good life (with diligent work) before the socialist reorganization of agriculture. One of their children was sent to high school. In the early '60's the coop appeared in their village, also, which had a very difficult start. The income dropped, so that the child had to be taken out of school. A Pentecostal missionary came to the village at this time, and the community formed within a few months.

Knowledge of the community's functions can explain to what extent the choice of belief is a solution for the believer.

Life in the faith does not mean the same for a Pentecostal believer as it does for a member of a large church. One cannot be "born into" the free churches; immersion is preceded by the individual's decision, which is due to his inner conviction.

Tenets of faith or dogma have less importance than they have in the large churches. The following statements are not uncommon: "I don't know the specific tenets very well." (Mrs Z.M.) "I never formulated to myself what it is that I believe." (Mrs L.N.) For the faithful, the personal conviction is important. "They'd tell me in vain that there is no God. They couldn't convince me; I experienced Him." (Mrs I.J.)

The Pentecostal is not a passive vessel of the faith but its active owner. The community life gives a frame to this activity. The community expects the members to participate at every meeting: worship twice a week, prayer meeting and Bible hour once a week. The meetings differ from those in the large churches because they serve the activity. Any of the men can lead the activity and proclaim the Gospel. In the prayer room, the faithful pray individually and aloud. There are no prayers with standardized texts. In general they do not formulate ahead but express their feelings and thoughts spontaneously. At worship, the members "serve." They volunteer to build the community. Such services are: proclaiming the Gospel, reading or reciting aloud (one can choose the work of a secular author), individual or group performance of singing or musical pieces, or testimonies. The latter are very important, because they mean personal affirmation of the truth in the faith. A testimony can be a chain of thought linked to some part of the Bible, a solution of some problem found in the Bible, or the "experience" of God's presence in some event of the member's life. These personal experiences are the most important of the testimonies; most of the time they deal with recovery from sickness, mate selection, house building, success with examinations. The testimony is also important because it tells of a form of activity outside the congregation; confession of faith before outsiders is also a testimony.

Prayer meetings also serve the strengthening and control of faith in the members. "It is important to go to the assembly because they spur one on," (Mrs I.I.) or because "it is much harder to deal with the world alone." (G.B.) Mutual support in the faith also strengthens the congregation as a community outside of the church activities. For example, everybody visits everyone else with some regularity. "If we don't do this, the devil gets into our hearts as far as my brother is concerned: Well, this one does not love you anymore... And this is enough to feel it in the assembly also, as if there were a problem, but there isn't any, this is but a feeling. But if we actually go, and talk, and tell the other our burdens and problems, we are liberated." (Mrs T.B.)

Another important function of the assembly is to give an opportunity to direct expression of the faith. Although the actions of the prayer house occur at home, also, their collective forms have an eminent role. Here every member of the community has a chance to speak, even the children. Anyone can stand up and speak of his faith, his feelings toward God and Jesus, everyday events and worries, and this is much more than to speak before the nonbelievers.

Naturally, concord does not exist in this form, either. The differing judgments of events and problems and possibilities of the solutions can confront one another here. The control and strengthening of faith and the testimony means also that the members judge themselves against the norm of the community and, thus, influence the community's conscience. Therefore, we regard the central function of the assembly as the carrier of faith, norms and usage, insurer of continuity and framer of change.

We cannot undertake the detailed listing and analysis of norms in this article. A large part of these add to the assurance of the believers' secular position and promotion.

One important norm is that anyone, regardless of trade, should perform maximally at work. It happens that close coworkers tease them about their faith ("Come here and preach a little"--T.B.) but this is always muted by the recognition earned by good work. "They even liked me for being a believer. When there was a problem, I took care of it because they knew I was a believer... Actually, the problem in the plant was when they told me something to do I promised only what I knew I could do, and the others are different. I always got a reward for this. 'Always Margit only'--they were often envious. I liked to do my work with honor, and rather than being reprimanded for it, they said: 'Would that everyone were a believer; we wouldn't have a problem.'" (Mrs T.B.)

Some of the norms in the community and in the assembly are quite strict, but, at the same time, the believers are exceedingly tolerant with those of other persuasions. The rather common prejudices--toward gypsies, Negroes--are completely lacking in the community under discussion. It is a little different where religion is concerned: The Pentecostal view the sects of

Christianity with differentiation and criticism. They claim that Christianity diverged from a living contract with God and the guidance of the Holy Spirit. This was caused by the clergy because "there was pathos, domination, power-hunger--everything but the preaching of the gospel, and here is where they lost their hold on the soul. But it is good that it happened this way. I bless the Lord for this, for, otherwise, there would never have been a re-birth." (G.B.) The so-called awakened groups within the large churches, however, "do many things and some even put us free churchers to shame." (K.R.)

Some of the norms and habits are treated flexibly by the faithful (although this is not true of all small communities); thus, their effect weakens or fades away. Some norms disappear when the preacher convinces the membership that the affected section of the Bible relates only to contemporary habits or moral precepts and do not affect the faith in substance. Another event happens when the community meets a believer who does not obey a certain norm, but his life does not have anything objectionable in "matters of substance." Such changes were caused in the earlier life order by western European and American visitors. A good example is hair. The Bible determines the length of hair for men and women (1 Corinthians 11:14, 15). Recently, an American singing-musical group visited this community. The "older brothers snorted" not because of the modern music but that the "girls' hair was short." But once they say "that when they pray they take it very seriously," (L.M.) they relaxed. Since that visit, the short hair of the women poses no problem in this community. Several young men wear long hair (shoulder length, at the most). Some had such at the time of immersion, and the older ones slowly got over it.

Evaluation of the tenets is in process also. Due to the disappearance of prosecution and the misery of life in this world, the contrast between earth and heaven is less sharp now. There is no strong desire to be called away, although it is still in the text of their songs. The central problems of the faith deal with life in this world, with the faith of everyday life.

The community helps its members outside of the support in faith. Some of this help is material. Many help in the building of a new house for a family. Ten percent of the voluntary donations at the Sunday morning meeting go to charity.

The most important thing, however, is spiritual support. The key to the solution of everyday problems is its connection with the faith. "Tiring of the faith" is caused often by the diversion of the spiritual life due to practical worries. The community helps the faithful to interpret all events of the surrounding world in the frame of the faith and coordinate the reaction to them within the spirit of the faith. In this, naturally, the chief support is the announcement of the gospel, the visits, and the spiritual functions, but in the everyday life processes of the believers they have a certain mediating role between the effects and the reactions.

In the community under examination, the Pentecostals proved to have a significant faith in directing the mobility of certain social strata, in forming human relations in small groups and in determining the social awareness and sociopsychological reactions of the faithful. Based on our empirical research, we may hope that the sociological investigation of the free churches will add to the understanding of the micromechanism of mobility and surviving religious feeling in a socialist society.

FOOTNOTES

1. Imre Kovacs, "The Silent Revolution," Budapest, Cserepfalvi (no year given).
2. Laszlo Kardos, "Church and Religious Life in a Village Today," Budapest, Kossuth Publishing House, 1969.
3. W. J. Hollenweger, "Die Pfingstkirchen," Selbstdarstellungen, Dokumente, Kommentare. Stuttgart, 1971. He finds 1,512,000 Europeans, 1,350,000 Asians (no data on China), 23,500 in Australia and Oceania, 3,170,000 North Americans, 7,055,000 Latin Americans, and 8,077,000 Africans.

10,101

CSO: 2500

'POLITYKA' COMMENTS ON MOTIVES OF CARTER FOREIGN POLICY

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 28,9 Jul 77 p 9

[Article by Longin Pastusiak: "With What Style Does Carter Swim?"]

[Text] During the first few months after the new president took office, the American press was constantly flooded by a surge of articles on the subject of the style of activity of the new president and of the new administration. The Americans are fond of analyzing style. This inclination toward differences in style and personality among politicians simply replaces the lack of essential political differences between the two large parties: the Democratic and the Republican parties, which have practically monopolized authority since the very beginning of the United States.

This concentration of the attention of society more on style than on activity is also used to camouflage the lack of a program of activity. It is understandable that the voters always attach a great deal of hope to how the new group solves the problems plaguing society. During the course of his first few months in office the new president does not have a well-developed program, and therefore satisfies the interest by providing information about the style of his activities, about his family and about his closest colleagues. Only later, when the new president has lost his appeal and when the people already know what time he gets up, what he has for breakfast, and whom he receives in which room, is it revealed that the program of problem solutions is far more modest than what he embraced during the electoral campaign. Then the popularity of the president drops a little, and the voters must satisfy themselves by saying that, after all, the president himself is a man of goodwill, but must reckon with the opposing interests of various pressure groups.

In connection with foreign policy, because that is what this article treats of, the traditions of the United States show the existence of a strong tendency to maintain a very similar course, despite changes in the

president and the upper layers of state officials. The element of continuation and continuity has always dominated what is new and variable. Anyway, "new" does not mean that it must necessarily be something "different" in comparison with the previous administration.

Since a great deal is being written in the world press about the new foreign policy of President Carter, let us ponder some of the new elements and stimuli directing the new group, selling its "new and improved" goods, which has to be the foreign policy of the United States.

Free Style

If I were to compare the style adopted by Carter as he launched himself into the current of world politics, I would say that it is a "free" style. It is a well-known fact that in swimming the free style is the fastest and most spectacular. So it is with Carter's politics. It is characterized by dynamism and recourse to strokes not practiced by previous inhabitants of the White House.

Carter likes to pass as a populist. The populist party was active at the beginning of the 19th century and at that time represented the interests of the farmers and lower middle class. Today populist means a politician who presents himself as a man independent of large business, as a man who is primarily concerned with the good of the average American. Even before the elections, when it was shown that Carter is a clever politician who managed to make a game of the primary elections, he was approved and accepted by the American establishment. Thus populism was a trick used to obtain the votes of the electorate. Carter has attempted to maintain this vision of a populist president. Consequently he manages to appear at meetings of citizens in small communities. Here he has so-called fireside chats. He participates in radio and television shows during which citizens can telephone the president and ask him questions. The chances of getting through are one in a million, but the impression is counted on. Jeans and denim shirts are found behind the White House, press conferences are often held and pronouncements are made without pompous language.

In his foreign policy he sends many emissaries abroad in the company of members of his family (for example, his son Chip to China and his wife Rosalynn to Latin America). The envoys of the president go to regions to which previous American governments did not assign much importance: Africa and Latin America. He named Andrew Young, a negro, United States Representative to the United Nations. Young has startled the world with his unprecedented statements, which have caused a sensation and many controversies in the United States. It must be acknowledged that naming Young U. S. ambassador to the United Nations was a very clever move from the point of view of "public relations," since the United States is dominated numerically by countries of the Third World. At the same time this is an example of

Young being given a great deal of exposure without being given the possibility of having any factual effect on the process of making political decisions. Young makes statements, and the U.S. foreign policy follows its own course. When Young surprised the world with some reasonable statements about the situation in Africa, the White House immediately made it known that the administration spokesman in matters of the Black Continent is not Young (who, in addition, is a member of the American cabinet), but Vice President Mondale.

This concentration of attention on style at the cost of content is already beginning to arouse uneasiness in areas of American public opinion, somewhat impatient with the present group's lack of a clear program both in domestic and in foreign policy. Voices criticizing Carter for placing style above the content of political activity are heard more and more in the United States.

Actually the Carter administration has not yet worked out a complete and detailed political program. This program is only in the state of crystallization. In many fields (for example, social policy) it will not even be ready before the end of this year. For this reason a final evaluation of Carter's moves still has to be put off. However, there are directions of activity which Carter is trying to perform with the features characteristic of his politics. At this point I would like to present one of the directions, namely the question of human rights and the stimuli leading the administration to give this matter such wide acclaim.

Human Rights, Stimuli

In the modern world human rights are undoubtedly a real problem. In Chile, South Africa, South Korea and dozens of other countries man is not only deprived of his elementary rights, but also lives under conditions which refute human dignity. Carter met a favorable climate when he raised the question of human rights. However, the manner in which he raised this question, his audience and a more thorough analysis of the stimuli guiding the American administration raise great doubts about the real intentions of the initiators of this action.

Personally I am convinced that there is a lot of propaganda noise about human rights in the United States. The administration has almost attempted to base its main program of activity in foreign policy on this problem. The mass media devote a great deal of attention to this question, numerous symposia and scientific conferences are held, and American politicians do not hesitate to give their opinions. All of this is set up as if it did not refer to the United States. Human rights are presented as some sort of special contribution of the Carter administration in a new stream of foreign policy. We may also conjecture that this is an act of contrast with the previous administration, which allegedly acted only according to pure pragmatism in foreign policy.

I have examined this matter closely, spoken with many Americans and looked through a great deal of material. I have come to the conclusion that there are several reasons why the Carter administration has approached the question of human rights with such vigor. These are considerations of an ideological nature, but also of political and tactical nature with internal and external features.

Let us begin with the internal considerations.

1. A new group which comes into power always seeks methods of gaining rapid support from the American people. Missionary attitudes are deeply rooted in this extremely materialistic society. After the murders committed by Americans in South-East Asia, after the various abuses of power, after the many scandals in the FBI and CIA and with the current crisis of confidence in the government as an aftermath of the Watergate affair, a president who espouses the noble motive of civil rights obviously meets a favorable climate and finds an audience in society.

2. Despite progress in detente, the United States still has actively operating circles against detente and opposing any dialogue with the USSR and other socialist countries on the basis of equal legal standing. These are primarily those who lose materially from detente, those whom Eisenhower called the industrial-military complex and forces remaining after the earlier anti-communistic crusade. Anti-communist prejudice and an unsatisfactory state of knowledge about socialist countries, all of these cause American conservatism to be able to sow mistrust in socialist countries among the American people. However, the Carter administration is aware of the realities of the modern world, and with the needs and necessities for continuing detente and the dialogue with the socialist countries. In advancing the matter of civic rights, the administration believes this is a way of partially neutralizing the forces against detente. As one of the important American spokesmen told me, this mollifies the right wing so that the policy of detente can be considered without leaving an opening for the right wing to charge that detente serves only the interests of the socialist states.

3. This is a method of distracting the attention of the Americans from the problems with which they are struggling. As candidate for the presidency, Carter promised a rapid solution to the problems tormenting society: inflation, unemployment, reduction in the government apparatus, reduction in defense expenditures and so forth. As President he now realizes that he is not able to keep these promises. It even looks as if certain indicators will become worse: among others inflation and unemployment, if Congress approves the President's energy program.

In carrying out his intensive campaign on human rights, Carter is creating the impression that he is making new initiatives and that he is carrying out a dynamic policy, thus camouflaging the lack of a concrete program for solving the domestic problems.

Two of the foreign considerations deserve special attention.

1. By putting forth the question of civil rights Carter is counting on regaining the moral leadership of the capitalist world for the United States. The Americans lost this leadership as a result of the sordid war in Vietnam, after the Watergate affair and following the many scandals with Lockheed, the CIA and the FBI. The Carter administration is a government with "clean hands." In this situation the American establishment has recognized that favorable situations have developed for the United States to recover moral leadership in the western world by presenting itself as a champion of human rights. This is simply a cheaper and very effective way for Washington to recover the moral position it has lost.

2. This is an instrument of ideological confrontation with the socialist countries. Actually from time to time American politicians hint for the sake of balance at the violations of human rights by dictators friendly to the United States, but many American politicians, including Secretary of State Vance, express the fear that this can harm the political interests of the United States. Under the leadership of the Assistant Secretary of State Warren Christopher, a special memorandum is being prepared for the President and this will recommend a very careful and selective approach of Washington to the question of human rights.

Likewise allies of the United States are expressing fear that the American campaign can lead to a return to a new cold-war atmosphere. The well-known journalist, James Reston, recently reported in correspondence from Bonn (INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE of 16 June 1977) that Chancellor Schmidt "does not approve of the tactical policy" used by Carter in this matter, and in government circles in Bonn the majority opinion is that Jimmy Carter "is going too far after dramatizing the problem of human rights in the beginning."

Political strategists in Washington are counting on the fact that exposing the problem of human rights will bring the United States some tactical advantages. It forms a possibility of giving something up in the future which does not cost Americans anything. Thus it is an ideological, and a political and tactical measure in the struggle with socialist countries.

Are the expectations mentioned above, which Americans associate with human rights, real? Obviously I do not think so. In order to be effective, policy must first of all be credible. In the question of human rights the U.S. policy is burdened with hypocrisy. First of all, a country which advises other countries to observe human rights and which has not ratified the basic international documents in this field--the U.N. human rights pacts and the international convention on genocide--cannot disguise itself as the protector of these rights. Secondly, the United States has a debit account in human rights disturbances, especially economic and social rights, with liabilities on the basis of many discriminating practices in regard to women, various ethnic groups and so on, and cannot spout morals to the international community on this subject.

The weekly magazine NEWSWEEK (20 June 1977) recently revealed that a confidential report has been prepared in the White House stating that the Carter campaign in regard to human rights will cause a great deal of adversity. It says that the benefits achieved so far are slight, and this is a realistic evaluation. After all, words teach but example leads.

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